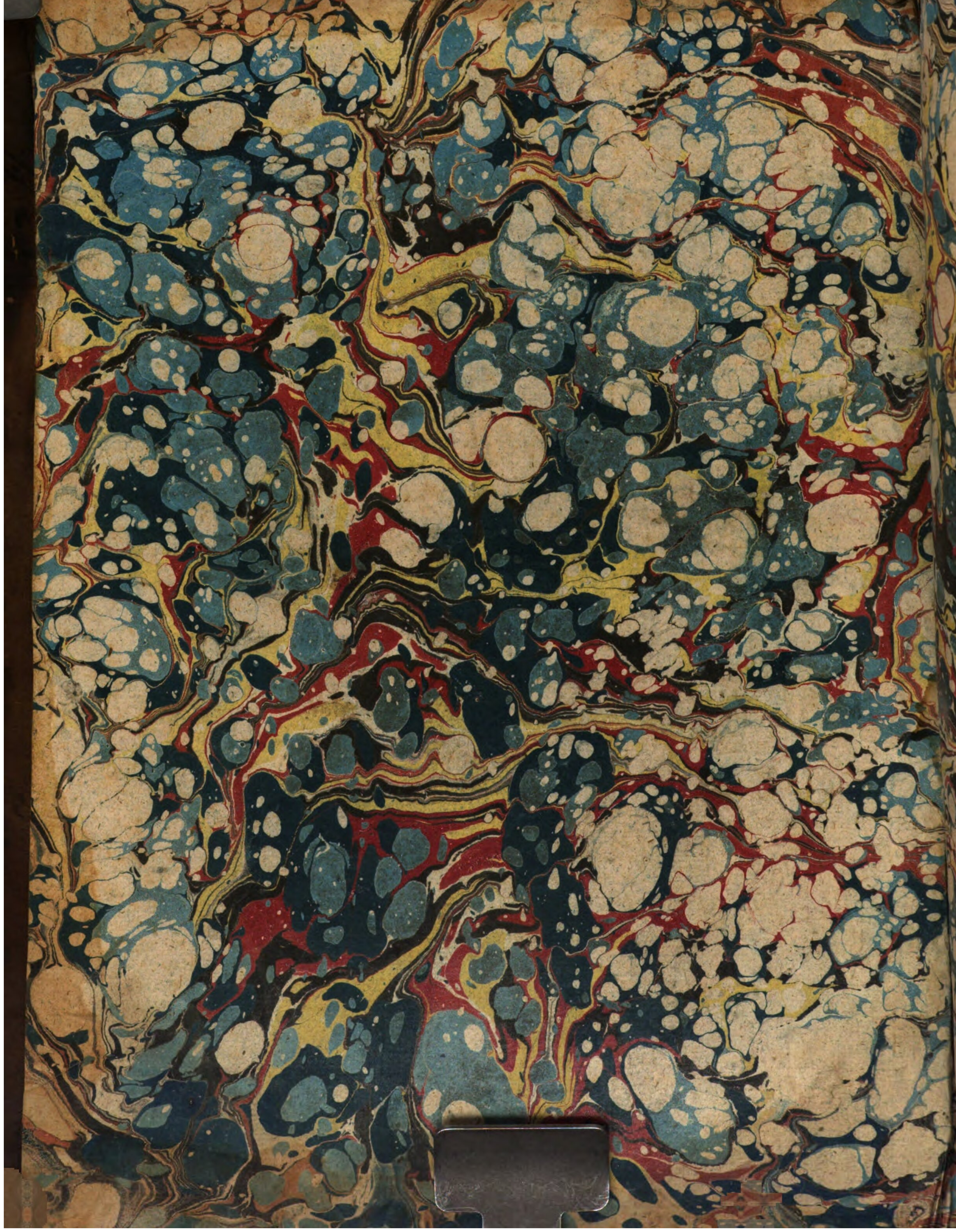








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From an Original painting

Mahommed Akbar, Emperor of Hindostan; Died A.D. 1604.

J. Taylor sculp.

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
H I N D O S T A N;

FROM THE
EARLIEST ACCOUNT OF TIME,

TO THE
DEATH OF AKBAR;

TRANSLATED
FROM THE PERSIAN OF MAHUMMUD CASIM FERISHTA OF DELHI;

TOGETHER WITH
A DISSERTATION

Concerning the RELIGION and PHILOSOPHY of the BRAHMINS;

WITH

An APPENDIX,

Containing the History of the MOGUL EMPIRE, from its Decline in the Reign of
MAHUMMUD SHAW, to the present Times.

By ALEXANDER DOW.

VOLUME II.

L O N D O N:

Printed for T. BECKET and P. A. DE HONDT, in the Strand.

MDCCLXVIII.

THE HISTORY OF THE
HINDOSTAN;
FROM THE FIRST ACCOUNT OF TIME
TO THE PRESENT
SECOND VOLUME

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MONACENSIS

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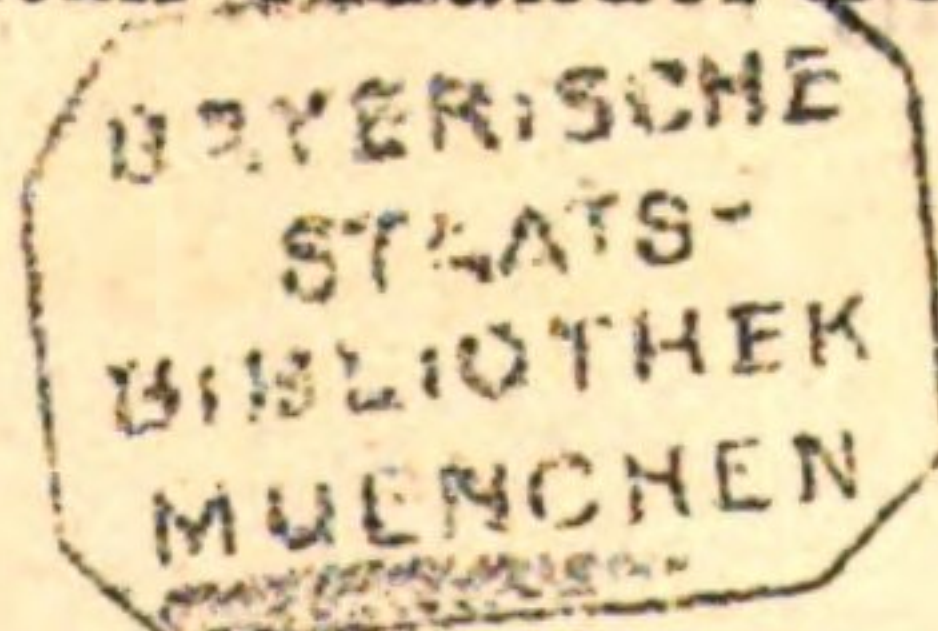
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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
H I N D O S T A N.

P A R T IV.

The History of HINDOSTAN, from the Invasion
of TAMERLANE, to the final Conquest of
that Country, by Sultan BABER; being a
Period of one hundred and thirty years.

S E C T I O N I.

Of the Progress of AMIR TIMUR, or TAMERLANE, in
Hindoستان.

AMIR TIMUR, being informed of the commotions and civil wars of Hindoستان, began his expedition into that country, in the eight hundredth year of the Higerah, and, on the twelfth of Mohirrim, in the following year, arrived on the banks of the Chule Jallali *. He immediately dispatched Amir Shech Noor ul Dien to dispossess Shab ul Dien Mubarick, who had, in charge, the defence of the frontier districts. When Shech Noor

A. D. 1397.
Higerah 800.
Tamerlane
invades
Hindoستان.

* A river on the frontiers of Hindoستان.

A. D. 1397.
Hig. 800.

ul Dien had arrived within a few miles of Shab ul Dien Mubarick, he summoned him to submit to Timur. But as the imperial general had previously retreated into a strong hold, on the bank of the river, round which he had drawn a ditch, forming the place into an island, he determined to defend himself to the last.

Shech Noor ul Dien, however, found means, upon making his approaches, to fill up the ditch: but at night he suffered a considerable loss, by a violent sally of the besieged; whom, in the end, he repulsed, and forced to take shelter within their walls. Amir Timur himself advanced against the enemy, with his whole army. Shab ul Dien intimidated, by the approach of Timur, stowed privately, in forty boats, his treasure and family, and fell down the river, being two days pursued in vain, by Shech Noor ul Dien, who was detached with a party after him. The garrison, after the departure of their leader, immediately surrendered.

Tamerlane
lays Tulmu-
bini under
contribution.

The inhabi-
tants massa-
cred.

Amir Timur proceeded down the river to the conflux of the Jimboo and Chinab, where there was a strong fort and town, known by the name of Tulumubini. He ordered a bridge to be laid across, by which his army might pass. Having pitched his camp, without the town, he laid it under a heavy contribution. But whilst the inhabitants were very busy in collecting the sum demanded, a complaint being made in the camp, of the scarcity of provisions, orders were issued to seize grain wherever it should be found. The soldiers, upon this, hastened to search the town, but not being content to take provisions alone, the natural consequence was, that a general plunder ensued. The inhabitants, endeavouring to oppose this outrage, were massacred without mercy.

To besiege the citadel would but retard the designs of Timur. He therefore marched, the next day after the massacre, to a town called Shawnawaze, where he found more grain than was sufficient

cient to serve his whole army. He therefore ordered, that what could not be carried away should be burnt; having previously cut off Jifferit, the brother of Shuha Giker, who had attempted to defend the place with two thousand men. Timur marched, on the third day, from Shawnawaze, and, crossing the Bea, came into a rich and plentiful country.

A. D. 1397.
Hig. 800.
Shawnawaze
pillaged.

It may not be improper here to say something concerning the proceedings of Mirza Pier Mahummud, after his having, as has been already mentioned, taken Moulton. The Solstitial rains having destroyed a great part of his cavalry, in the field, he was under the necessity of drawing his army into the city of Moulton. There he was driven to the utmost distress by the inhabitants of the country, who had closely invested him. His cavalry, instead of being able to act against them, diminished daily in their numbers, for want of forage.

Mirza Pier
Mahummud
blockaded in
Moulton.

In this untoward situation were the affairs of that prince, when his grandfather, Amir Timur, entered Hindostan, who immediately reinforced Mahummud with a detachment of thirty thousand chosen horse, and soon joined him with his whole army. The prince carried in his mind great animosity against the governor of Battenize, who had chiefly distressed him. Amir Timur himself, to chastise the governor, selected ten thousand horse, with which he marched directly towards him. When he reached Adjodin, he was shewn the tomb of Shech Ferid Shuckergunge, the poet, in respect to whose memory he spared the few inhabitants who remained in the place, the greater part having fled to Delhi and Battenize.

Is relieved
by Timur,

Timur continued then his march to Battenize, crossing the river of Adjodin, and encamping at Chaliskole, from which place, in one day, he marched fifty crores to Battenize. Upon his arrival, the people of Debalpoor, and other adjacent towns, crowded into

who arrives
at Battenize,

A. D. 1397. the place, in such numbers, that half of them were driven out,
 Hig. 800. and obliged to take shelter under the walls. They were there
 and invests it. attacked, the first day, by the king, and some thousands of them
 slain. Raw Chillige, who was governor of the place, seeing the
 enemy so few in number, drew out the garrison, and formed
 them without the town, in order of battle. The Moguls, how-
 ever, upon the first onset, drove him back within his walls, while
 the king himself pressed so hard upon the enemy's rear, that he
 possessed himself of the gates before they could be shut. Then
 driving the runaways from street to street, he became, in a few
 hours, intirely master of the place, except the citadel; to reduce
 which, he ordered a party immediately to dismount, and begin to
 undermine it.

The city
 taken,

The garrison desired to capitulate, to which Timur agreed; and
 the governor, having had an interview with the king, presented
 him with three hundred Arabian horses, and with many of the va-
 luable curiosities of Hindostan. Timur, in return, honoured him
 with a chelat; and after the conditions were settled, sent Amir So-
 liman, Sheh, and Omar Ulla, to take possession of the gates, com-
 manding them to slay all those who had taken refuge in the place,
 and had before been active against his grandson Mirza Pier Mahum-
 mud. The rest, after being plundered, were ordered to be dis-
 missed.

and the inha-
 bitants put to
 the sword.

In consequence of this inhuman order, five hundred persons, in
 a few minutes, were put to death. Those who remained still within
 the fort, were so struck with this massacre, that they set fire to the
 place, murdered their wives and children, and, in mere despair,
 fought after nothing but revenge and death. The scene now became
 terrible indeed! but the unfortunate inhabitants were, in the end,
 cut off to a man; they however revenged themselves amply, upon
 the rapacious and inhuman authors of their distress; some thou-
 sands

sands of the Moguls, having fallen by their hands. This so much exasperated Amir Timur, that firebrand of the world, that he ordered every soul in Battenize to be massacred, and to reduce the city itself to ashes.

A. D. 1397.
Hig. 800.

Timur, marching to Surusti, put the inhabitants of that place, also, to the sword, and gave the town up to pillage. Advancing to Fatteabad, he continued the same scene of barbarity, through that, and the adjacent towns of Rahib, Amirani, and Jonah. He detached Hakîm Agherâck towards Sammana, with five thousand horse, and with the few that remained, he himself scoured the country, and cut off a tribe of banditti called Jits, who had lived for some years by rapine. His army, in the mean time, being divided under different chiefs, carried fire and sword through all the provinces of Moulton and Lahore, but when they advanced, near the capital, he ordered a general rendezvous at Keitil, a town within five crores of Sammana.

Several cities
taken by Ti-
mur, and the
inhabitants
massacred.

Timur himself soon joined his army, and having regulated the order of his march, advanced towards Delhi. When he reached Panniput, he ordered his soldiers to put on their fighting apparel *; and, that he might be the better supplied with forage, crossed the Jumna, took the fort of Lowni by assault, and put the garrison to the sword. He then marched down along the river, and encamped opposite to the citadel of Delhi, posting guards to prevent all communication. He immediately detached Amir Soliman Shaw, and Amir Jehan Shaw, to scour the country behind him to the south and south east of the city; whilst he himself that very day, with seven hundred horse only, crossed the river to reconnoitre the citadel.

Arrives be-
fore Delhi,

which he re-
connoitres.

Mahmood Shaw and Mulla Eckbal Chan, seeing so few in the retinue of Timur, issued forth with five thousand foot and twenty-

* Coats stuffed thick with cotton, worn instead of armour.

seven,

A. D. 1397. seven elephants against him. Mahummud Sillif, an Omrah of
 Hig. 800. repute in Delhi, who led on the attack, was repulsed and taken
 prisoner by the Moguls. Timur ordered him to be immediately
 beheaded, and after having made the observations which he design-
 ed, repassed the river and joined his army.

He next morning moved his camp more to the eastward, where
 he was told, by the princes and generals of his army, that there
 were then above one hundred thousand prisoners in his camp, who
 had been taken since he crossed the Sind; that these unfortunate
 persons had, the day before, expressed great joy, when they saw
 him attacked before the citadel; which rendered it extremely pro-
 bable, that, on a day of battle, they would join with their country-
 men against him. The inhuman Timur, who might have found
 other means of prevention, gave orders to put all above the age of
 fifteen to the sword, so that, upon that horrid day, one hundred
 thousand men were massacred, in cold blood. This barbarity, to-
 gether with his other actions of equal cruelty, gained him the
 name of Hillak Chan, or the destroying Prince.

He massacres
 100,000 pri-
 soners in cold
 blood.

Crosses the
 Jumna,

Upon the fifth of Jemmad ul Awil, Timur forded the river with
 his army without opposition, and encamped on the plains of Firo-
 seabad; where he entrenched himself, filling the ditch with buffa-
 loes fronting the enemy, whom he fastened with ropes and picquets
 to their stations, placing, at the same time, strong guards, at proper
 distances, behind them.

Though the astrologers pronounced the seventh an unlucky day,
 the king marched out of his lines, and drew up his army in order
 of battle. Sultan Mamood and Mullu Eckbal Chan, with the ar-
 my of Delhi, and one hundred and twenty elephants in mail, ad-
 vanced towards him. But upon the very first charge of a squa-
 dron, called the Heroes of Chighitta, the elephant-drivers were dis-
 mounted,

mounted, and the outrageous animals, deprived of their guides, ^{A. D. 1397.} ran roaring back, and spread terror and confusion among their own ^{Hig. 800.} ranks. The veteran troops of Timur, who had already conquered half the world, improved this advantage, and the degenerate Hindoos were, in a few minutes, totally routed, without making one brave effort for their country, lives, and fortunes. The conqueror <sup>totally de-
feats the
enemy,</sup> pursued them, with great slaughter, to the very gates of Delhi, near which he fixed his quarters.

The consternation of the fugitives was so great, that, not trusting to their walls, Sultan Mamood and Mullu Eckbal Chan, deserted, in the night, their capital; the former flying to Guzerat, <sup>who desert
the city.</sup> the latter taking the route of Berren. Timur, having intelligence of their flight, detached parties after them, one of which coming up with Sultan Mamood, killed a great number of his retinue, and took his two infant sons, Seif ul Dien and Choda Daad, prisoners. Timur received the submission of all the great men of the city, who crowded to his camp, and were promised protection upon paying great contributions; and, upon the Friday following, he ordered the Chutba in all the mosques, to be read in his own name. Upon the sixteenth of the same month he placed guards at the gates, and appointed the scriveners of the city, and magistrates, to regulate the contribution according to the wealth and rank of the inhabitants. Information was, in the mean time, lodged, that several omrahs and rich men had shut themselves up in their houses, with their dependents, and refused to pay down their share of the ransom. This obliged Timur Shaw to send troops into the city, to enforce the authority of the magistrates. A general confusion, uproar, and plundering, immediately ensued, which could not be restrained by the Mogul officers, who, at the same time, durst not acquaint the king that their authority was contemned by the troops.

Timur

A. D. 1397.
Hig. 800.

Timur was then busy in his camp, in celebrating a grand festival, on account of his victory, so that it was five days before he received any intelligence of these proceedings. The first notice he had of them, was by the flames of the city; for the Hindoos, according to their manner, seeing their wives and daughters ravished and polluted, their wealth seized by the hand of rapine, and they themselves insulted, beat, and abused, at length, by one consent, shut the city gates, set fire to their houses, murdered their wives and children, and ran out like madmen against their enemies.

A general
massacre.

But little effect had the despair of the unfortunate upon the Moguls, who soon collected themselves, and began a general massacre. Some streets were rendered impassable, by the heaps of dead; and, in the mean time, the gates being forced, the whole Mogul army were admitted. Then followed a scene of horror, much easier to be imagined than described.

The unparalleled
misfortunes of the
Delhians.

The desperate courage of the unfortunate Delhians, was at length cooled in their own blood. They threw down their weapons, they submitted themselves like sheep to the slaughter. They permitted one man to drive a hundred of them prisoners before him; so that we may plainly perceive, that cowardice is the mother of despair. In the city the Hindoos were, at least, ten to one, superior in number to the enemy, and had they possessed souls, it would have been impossible for the Moguls, who were scattered about in every street, house, and corner, laden with plunder, to have resisted the dreadful assault. But though the Hindoos had the savage resolution of imbruing their hands in the blood of their wives and children, we find them still the slaves of fear, and shrinking at the approach of that death, which they could so readily execute upon others.

Nizam ul
Dien's ac-
count of the
massacre in
Delhi.

This massacre is, in the History of Nizam ul Dien Ahmud, otherwise related. The collectors of the ransom, says he, upon the part
of

of Timur, having used great violence, by torture and other means, to extort money, the citizens fell upon them, and killed some of the Moguls. This circumstance being reported to the Mogul king, he ordered a general pillage, and, upon resistance, a massacre to commence. This account carries greater appearance of truth along with it, both from Timur's general character of cruelty, and the improbability of his being five days close to the city without having intelligence of what passed within the walls.

A. D. 1397.
Hig. 800.

But the race of the Mogul prince take, to this day, great pains to invalidate this opinion, nor do they want arguments upon their side. The principal one is this, that, in consequence of a general plunder, the king would have been deprived of the ransom, which must have been exceedingly great, and for which he only received the elephants and regalia. Neither have we any account of his taking any part of the plunder from his army afterwards, though it must have been very immense.

The king, after this horrid scene, entered the city, taking to himself one hundred and twenty elephants, twelve rhinoceroses, and a number of curious animals, that had been collected by Firose Shaw. The fine mosque, built by that prince, upon the stones of which he had inscribed the history of his reign, being esteemed a master-piece of architecture and taste, took so much the fancy of the conqueror, that he ordered stone-cutters and masons from Delhi to Samarcand, to build one upon the same plan,

Timur enters
Delhi.

After having stayed fifteen days at Delhi, Timur took a sudden resolution of returning, and he accordingly marched out to Firoseabad, whither Bahadre Nahir sent him two white parrots, as curiosities from Mewat, with professions of subjection. The king sent Seid Shumse ul Dien Turmuzi to bring him to the presence, which

Resolves to
return.
Marches to
Firoseabad,

A. D. 1397. summons he immediately obeyed; and Chizer Chan, who had lain
 Hig. 800. concealed in the hills, presented himself at court, and was favorably received.

and to Paniput.

The king marching from Firoseabad arrived at Paniput, from whence he detached Amir Shaw Malluk, to besiege Merat, a strong fort, situated between the rivers, about thirty crores from Delhi. When Amir Shaw Malluk reached the place, upon reconnoitring its strength, and finding the garrison determined to defend it, he mentioned in a letter to the king, that they insulted him from the walls, by telling him he could succeed no better than Tirrim Seri Chan, the Mogul Prince, who had formerly attempted to take the place.

Besieges and takes Merat.

This had the desired effect upon the king, who immediately marched his army against Merat, and, without delay, began to sink his mines, and carry on his approaches; advancing his sap towards the walls, at the rate of fifteen yards every twenty-four hours. Elias Adyhuni, the son of Moluna, Ahmud Jannafure, and Mulleck Suffi Kebire, defended the place with great resolution. But the Moguls having filled up the ditch, placed their scaling ladders, and fastened their hook-ropes to the wall, in spite of all opposition; and, without waiting for a breach, by means of the mines, stormed the place, and put every soul within it to the sword. The mines, however, being finished, the king ordered them to be sprung, which blew the walls and bastions into pieces.

His progress towards the head of the Ganges.

Timur continued his march to the skirts of the mountains of Sewalic, marking his way with fire and sword. Crossing, then, the Ganges, he subdued the country as high as where the river issues from the mountains; returning from thence, he repassed the river, and marched through the hills, where he was opposed by a zemindar called Zein Dund, whom he defeated and plundered.

He

He then continued his rout, taking several small forts in his way; having arrived at Jimmugur, he fought the raja of that place, who was wounded, taken, and forced to become a Mussulman. A. D. 1397.
Hig. 800.

Jifferit, the brother of Shuha Gicker, who had fled to him after his being defeated by Timur Shaw, had by his brother been severely reprimanded for opposing the king; which having been represented to Timur, Shuha Gicker was admitted into his presence, and became a great favorite. But when the king had marched on to Delhi, he remembered not his obedience, and in the absence of Timur possessed himself of Lahore. The king having returned to Jimbo*, Shuha Gicker refused to submit to his authority. The sultan sent part of his army to besiege Shuha Gicker in Lahore, which being taken in a few days, he was brought prisoner to the king, who ordered him to be instantly beheaded. Shuha Gicker refuses to submit to Timur.
Timur takes Lahore.

We do not find that Timur appointed any king to govern Hindostan, which he had in a great measure subdued. He, however, confirmed the subas, who had submitted to him, in their governments; and, from this circumstance, we may suppose, that he intended to retain the empire in his own name; though he left no troops behind him, except a small detachment in Delhi, to secure it from further depredations. While he remained at Jimbo, he appointed Chizer Chan viceroy of Moultan, Lahore, and Dibalpoor, then proceeded, by the way of Cabul, to Samurcand.

* A fort in Punjaab, three days journey north of Lahore.

SECTION II.

The conclusion of the reign of MAHMOOD SHAW.

A. D. 1397.
Hig. 800.

THE city of Delhi had remained in anarchy for the space of two months, when it was taken possession of by Nuferit Shaw, with only two thousand horse, from Merat. Shab Chan and Malleck Almass, with their troops and ten elephants, joined him soon after from the same place; Nuferit Shaw sent immediately Shab Chan, with his troops, towards Birren, against Eckbal Chan, who had there taken up his residence. But Shab Chan was attacked, in the night, upon his march, by the zemindars in the interest of Eckbal Chan, and slain; Eckbal Chan pursuing this advantage, took all the baggage of Shab Chan's army.

Eckbal Chan
recovers
Delhi.

This success raising the reputation as well as spirits of Eckbal Chan, he, in a few days, thought himself in a condition to attempt the capital, which he did with success; for Nuferit Shaw, upon his approach, fled to Merat; and Eckbal Chan resumed the administration of affairs in the ruined city. The inhabitants, who had fled to different places, having still a natural hankering after their old abode, began to assemble again, and the place, in a short time, put on the appearance of populousness, especially the quarter called the New City.

A. D. 1399.
Hig. 802.
The Subahs
revolt from
the empire.

Eckbal Chan possessed himself soon of the country between the two rivers, which, with a small district round the city, was all that now held of the capital. The subas had rendered themselves independent, in their own governments, during the misfortunes and confusion of the empire. Guzerat was seized upon by Chan Azim Ziffer Chan;—Malava by Delawir Chan;—Kinnoge, Oud, Kurrah, and Jionpoor, by Sultan ul Shirk Chaja Jehan;—Lahore, Dibalpoor,

balpoor, and Moultan, by Chizer Chan;—Sammana by Ghalil Chan;—Beana by Shumse Chan;—Mahoba by Mahummud Chan ben Malleck Zadda Firose; and so on with regard to the other provinces, the governors asserting their own independence, and stiling themselves kings.

In the month of Jemmad ul Awil, 803, Eckbal Chan marched with an army from Delhi towards Biana, and defeated Shumse Chan; whose troops joining him, he proceeded to Kittar, and after having levied a great contribution upon the territory of Narfingh, returned to Delhi. Intelligence was soon after brought him, that Chaja Jehan was dead at Jionpoor, and that his adopted son, Kirrinphil, having assumed the title of Sultan Mubarick Shaw, held that government. Eckbal Chan being in alliance with Shumse Chan, governor of Biana, Mubarick Chan and Bahadre Nahir of Mewat, marched the same year against Kirrinphil.

When he had reached the village of Pattiali, upon the banks of the Ganges, Rai Sere, and all the zemindars of that country, opposed him; but he defeated them, with great slaughter. After this victory, he marched to Kinnoge, with an intention to proceed to Jionpoor, and from thence to Lucknouti. Upon his march, however, he was met by Mubarick Shaw, who opposed his crossing the Ganges so effectually, that, after repeated efforts for two months, he was forced to abandon the undertaking, and to return to his own country. But the perfidious Eckbal, entertaining some groundless suspicions of Shumse Chan and Mubarick Chan, assassinated them both upon their way back to their own governments.

Sultan Mahmood Shaw, in the year 804, being disgusted with Ziffer Chan at Guzerat, fled from him to Malava, and soon after, by the invitation of Eckbal Chan, returned to Delhi. He, however, contented himself with a pension, fearing that his interfering

A. D. 1399.
Hig. 802.

A. D. 1400.
Hig. 803.
Eckbal Chan
defeats
Shumse
Chan.

Frustrated in
his designs
upon the pro-
vince of Jon-
poor.

A. D. 1401.
Hig. 804.
His perfidy.

Sultan Mah-
mood returns
to Delhi.

in

A. D. 1401. in the government would prove fatal to him. Advice being arrived,
 Hig. 804. that Mubarick Shaw was dead, at Jionpoor, Eckbal Chan, taking along with him Sultan Mahmood, marched again towards Kinnoge; upon which Sultan Ibrahim, the brother of Mubarick Shaw, who had mounted the throne, advanced with the troops of the East to meet him.

His folly. When the armies were near one another, Sultan Mahmood, dissatisfied with his condition, and having the folly to imagine that Sultan Ibrahim would acknowledge him king, and abdicate the throne for his sake, escaped, one day, when he was out hunting, to the army of Ibrahim. But when that prince learned the intentions of Mahmood, he even withheld from him the necessaries of life, and intimated to him to quit the camp. Sultan Mahmood returned, in great distress, to Kinnoge, and was left, by Eckbal Chan, in the government of that city; the governor, who was formerly there on the part of Sultan Ibrahim, being driven out. Ibrahim, however, put up with this insult, and returned to Jionpoor, while Eckbal Chan retired to Delhi.

Made governor of Kinnoge.

A. D. 1402.
 Hig. 805.
 Eckbal Chan
 marches against Gualier,

In the year 805, Eckbal Chan marched against Gualier, which had fallen into the hands of Narfing, during the invasion of Timur, and had now, upon Narfing's death, descended to his son, Byram Deo Rajaput. The fort being very strong, he could effect nothing against it, but plundering the district around, he returned to Delhi. Brooking ill, however, this disappointment, he, in a short time, marched a second time against Gualier. Byram Deo sallied out of the place, and engaged Eckbal Chan, but he was soon driven back into the fort, the siege of which Eckbal Chan was again obliged to raise; and having plundered the country as before, he returned to Delhi.

Eckbal

Eckbal Chan, in the year 807, drew his army towards Atava, A. D. 1404, Hig. 807. and having, in several battles, defeated Rai Sibbiri, Rai Gualier, Atava, Rai Jallar, and others, who possessed that country, he raised contributions there. He then turned his arms against Sultan Mahmood, in Kinnoge. and Kinnoge. The Sultan shut himself up in the city, and Eckbal Chan invested it for some time, but, not being able to reduce the place, he raised the siege, and marched towards Sammana.

Byram Chan, a descendant of one of the Turkish slaves of Firose Byram Chan, Shaw, had fixed himself in Sammana, and, upon the approach of Eckbal Chan, had fled to the hills of Budhoor; Eckbal closely pursuing him, encamped at the skirts of the mountains. Seid Alim ul Dien came to mediate matters, and a peace was soon patched up between the contending parties, and both joining their forces together, marched towards Moulton, against Chizer Chan. At Tilbundi they were opposed by Rai Daood, Camal Mai, and Rai Hubbu, who were defeated and taken prisoners. The perfidious Eckbal Chan, after this victory, without any apparent reason, except a desire of aggrandizing himself, seized upon Byram Chan, and ordered him to be flay'd alive. is flay'd alive.

The death of Byram did not remain long unrevenge'd. Eckbal arriving near Adjodin, Chizer Chan met him, with the troops of Moulton, Punjaab, and Dibalpoor, and, upon the nineteenth of Jemad ul Awil the two armies engaged; Eckbal Chan was slain, and Eckbal Chan slain. the world was happily rid of a perfidious and cruel villain.

Dowlat Chan Lodi and Actiar Chan, who commanded in Delhi, A. D. 1406. Hig. 809. being informed of this event, called Sultan Mahmood from Kinnoge. Sultan Mahmood restored. The Sultan, coming with a small retinue to Delhi, resumed the throne; but, laying aside any further efforts to reduce Moulton, he sent Dowlat Chan with an army against Byram Chan, who,

A. D. 1406. who, upon the death of the former Byram Chan, possessed him-
 Hig. 809. self of Sammana. The emperor himself returned back, in the
 Flies from Kinnoge. mean time, to Kinnoge; Sultan Ibrahim marched against him,
 Pursued by Sultan Ibra- and, after some skirmishes, obliged him to retreat to Delhi. The
 him, Sultan's spiritless behaviour lost him the affections of his troops,
 and they accordingly, with one consent, dispersed themselves.

Sultan Ibrahim, having received intelligence of this desertion, crossed the Ganges, and marched towards Delhi, with great expedition. When he had reached the banks of the Jumna, he heard that Chan Azim Ziffer Chan of Guzerat, had taken Alip Chan, Suba of Mindu, and the country of Malava, and was then upon his march towards Jionpoor. Upon which he immediately retreated, to cover the capital of his dominions.

A. D. 1407. In the month of Rigib, 810, Dowlat Chan Lodi and Byram
 Hig. 810. Chan, the Turk, came to battle near Sammana. Byram Chan
 Byram Chan defeated by Lodi. was defeated, and surrendered himself to Dowlat Chan; but before the latter had enjoyed any fruits of his victory, he was himself beat back to Delhi, by Chizer Chan. Sultan Mahmood, in the following year, marched against Keiwan Chan, who, upon the part of Chizer Chan, commanded the fort of Firofa. The Sultan, after levying contributions, returned; and Chizer Chan, upon advice of these transactions, marched against Delhi, and besieged Sultan Mahmood, who was neither a warrior nor a politician, in Firoseabad. But fortune, for this time, supplied the want of abilities in Mahmood, for Chizer Chan being in want of forage and grain, was obliged to raise the siege, and retire to Fattipoor.

The Sultan
 besieged in
 Ferozeabad.

A. D. 1411. Chizer Chan, in the beginning of the year 814, returned by the
 Hig. 814. way of Rhotuck, a country then in the possession of Sultan Mahmood, where Malleck Ecteriz and Mubariz Chan, declining hostilities, submitted to his pleasure. He plundered the town of Nar-
 Chizer Chan besieges Mahmood in Delhi. noul,

noul, and again advanced to Delhi; Mahmood Shaw shut himself up in the old citadel of Seri, which Chizer Chan immediately besieged. Achtiar Chan, who commanded in Firoseabad, seeing the affairs of Mahmood in a desperate situation, joined himself to Chizer Chan, and admitted him into the place. They then, with all their troops, took possession of the country on the opposite side of the river, and prevented all supplies from Sultan Mahmood.

But that famine which they designed for the Sultan and his adherents, recoiled upon themselves; for a great drought had occasioned a scarcity of provisions between the rivers, and in the neighbourhood of Delhi; insomuch that Chizer Chan was, a second time, forced to raise the siege, and retire to Fattipoor. Mahmood Shaw being delivered from this imminent danger, took no pains to strengthen himself against a future attack. He took the diversion of hunting in the neighbourhood of Keitul, where he was seized with a fever, and died in the month of Zecada; and with him the empire of Delhi fell from the race of the Turks, who were adopted slaves of Sultan Shab ul Dien Ghorî.

The disastrous, interrupted, and inglorious reign of the weak Mahmood, lasted twenty years and two months. He was just as unfit for the age in which he lived, as he was unworthy of better times. God was angry with the people of Hindostan, and he gave them Mahmood, whose only virtue was, that his folly made him insensible, in a great measure, to those strokes of fortune, which abilities much greater than his could not, perhaps, avert. The omrahs, soon after his death, elected, in his stead, Dowlat Chan Lodi, a Patan by nation, and originally a private secretary, whom Sultan Mahmood had raised to the dignity of Aziz Mumalick*.

* An officer something similar to our Secretary of state.

SECTION III.

The reign of DOWLAT CHAN LODI.

A. D. 1413.
Hig. 816.
Dowlat Chan
Lodi elected
emperor.

DOWLAT CHAN LODI being received upon the throne, struck the currency in his own name, and began his administration in the month of Mohirrim, 816. He was immediately joined by Malleck Ecteriz, and Mubariz Chan, who abandoned the interest of Chizer Chan. He marched, in the first month of his reign, towards Kittar, and was met by Rai Narfingh, and other zemindars of those districts, who acknowledged his title. Arriving at the town of Battiali, Mohabut Chan, of Budaoon, came to meet him.

Advices, in the mean time, arrived, that Sultan Ibrahim Shirki was besieging Kadir Chan, the son of Mahmood Chan, in Calpee, but as the sultan had not forces enough to march to his relief, he returned to Delhi to recruit his army. Chizer Chan, who had been preparing to invade the capital, advanced, in the month of Zihidge, with sixty thousand horse, and a third time laid siege to the citadel of Seri, whither Dowlat Chan had retired. After a siege of four months, he obliged Dowlat Chan, upon the 15th of Ribbi ul Awil, in the year 817, to surrender himself and the citadel. The emperor was confined in the fort of Firofa, where he died soon after. He reigned one year and three months.

Is taken and
deposed by
Chizer Chan.

SECTION IV.

The reign of CHIZER CHAN BEN SOLIMAN.

THE most accurate historians of those times affirm, that A. D. 1414. Hig. 817. Chizer Chan was of the race of the Prophet, and consequently, what the Islamites call a Seid. His father, Malleck Soliman, being a person of some distinction, became the adopted son of Chizer Chan succeeds. Malleck Murdan Dowlat, a great omrah, and Suba of Moulton, in the reign of Firose Shaw. Malleck Murdan Dowlat was, upon his death, succeeded in his government by his own son Malleck Shech; and he soon dying, Malleck Soliman was appointed to that viceroyship, which descended to Chizer Chan from his father. Chizer being defeated, as we have already observed, by Saring Chan, and driven from his country, he waited upon Timur Shaw, after the conquest of Delhi, and, having gained his favor, was by him reinstated in his former government, with the addition of Punjaab and Dibalpoor. This accession of strength enabled him to pave afterwards his way to the empire.

Chizer Chan, upon his accession, conferred the title Tage ul Malleck, upon Malleck Joppa, and made him Vizier; and that of Alla ul Malleck upon Abdul Rahim, the adopted son of Malleck Soliman, with the government of Fattepoor and Moulton. He thus distributed favors, governments, and dignities among his other omrahs, but would not assume the imperial titles to himself, holding forth, that he held the empire for Timur Shaw: and ordered the coin to be struck in his name. The Chutba, during the life of Timur, was read in that conqueror's name in the mosques; and after Timur had travelled the way of mortality, in that of Mirza Sharock, mentioning the name of Chizer Chan after him. He even sent sometimes a tribute to Samarcand.

Does not assume the name of emperor. Pretends to hold of Timur.

A. D. 1414.
Hig. 817.
Subdues
Kittar.

In the first year of his reign he sent Tage ul Malleck, with an army, towards Kittar, which he subdued, and drove Rai Narfingh to the mountains; but upon paying a tribute Rai Narfingh was again put in possession of his country. Mohabut Chan, Suba of Badaoon, at the same time came to meet Tage ul Malleck, and promised allegiance; and from thence he marched towards Koer, Kumbul, and Chidewar, and levied the revenues which were due for some years before. After recovering Jellafar out of the hands of the Rajaputs of Chundwar, Malleck marched to Atava, which he brought under subjection, by changing the administration; and after these exploits returned to Delhi.

The Turks
expelled
from Sirhind.

In the month Jemmad ul Awil of this year, a tribe of Turks, who were of the adherents of Byram Chan, assassinating Malleck Siddic, governor of Sirhind, took possession of his country. Chizer Chan sent Zirick Chan, with a powerful army, against them; and, upon his approach, the Turks crossed the Suttuluz, and retreated to the hills. Zirick Chan pursued them thither; but those mountains being a continuation of those of Nagracot, which were then possessed by powerful zemindars, who assisted the Turks, he could effect nothing material against them; and, in the end, he was obliged to retreat.

Chizer
Chan's ex-
pedition
against Ah-
mud.

Intelligence was, in the year 819, received at Delhi, that Sultan Ahmud Shaw, of Guzerat, had advanced to Nagore. Chizer Chan, mustering all his forces, marched against him, but Ahmud Shaw, declining battle, turned off towards Malava. When Chizer Chan had reached Hanir, Elias Chan, governor of that beautiful city, which had been built by Sultan Alla ul Dien Chilligie, came out to meet him, and was honorably received. The Sultan proceeded from thence to Gaulier, where he levied the tribute upon the Raja, and then continued his march to Biana, taking tribute from Kerim ul Mulk. He after these transactions returned to Delhi.

In

In the year 820, Taan, chief of those Turks who had assassinated Malleck Siddic, lay at the head of a great army before Sirhind. Zirick Chan, governor of Sammana, was immediately dispatched by Chizer, with a strong force, against the Turk who besieged Sirhind, and he was once more driven back to his hills; and a seasonable relief was accomplished for the empire. Zirick Chan having, in pursuit of the enemy, reached the village of Pael, Taan consented to pay tribute, and gave him his son as a hostage, expelling the murderers of Malleck Siddic. Upon this pacification he was left in possession of Jallender, and Zirick Chan returned to Sammana, sending the hostage and contributions which he had raised, to the royal presence.

A. D. 1417.
Hig. 820.

Turks again
expelled
from Sirhind.

The sultan, in the year 821, sent Tage ul Malleck against Raja Narfingh. Malleck, without ending the war, plundered and laid waste the province of Kittar, and returned to Budaoon. Crossing then the river, he came to Atava, where he raised contributions, and from thence returned to Delhi. Chizer went, in person, against the rebels of Kittar, and, upon his march, chastised the banditti of Schole. He crossed the Rahib, laid waste the country of Simbol and Kittar, and, without coming to battle, returned to his capital.

Chizer in-
vades Kittar.

He continued at Delhi a few days, and then moved towards Budaoon, crossing the Ganges at Pattali. Mahabut Chan being alarmed at his approach, shut himself up in Budaoon, where the king besieged him for six months. In the course of the siege, Cawam Chan, Achtiar Chan Lodi, and all the old friends of Mahmood Shaw, formed a conspiracy against the life of Chizer. The sultan discovering the plot, decamped from before Budaoon, and returned towards Delhi. He, on his way, prepared an entertainment, upon the 20th of Jemmad ul Awil, in 822, to which all the conspirators were invited, and the guards setting suddenly upon them, they were to a man assassinated.

Discovers a
plot against
his life.

The conspi-
rators assassi-
nated.
After

A. D. 1419.
Hig. 822.

An impostor
appears at
Matchewar-
rah.

Is defeated.

After the sultan returned to Delhi, he was informed, that an impostor had appeared at Matchewarrah, under the name of Saring Chan, and had, by that means, collected a great body of people together. The king ordered Maleck Sultan Sheh Lodi, who, with the title of Ilam Chan, was, at that time, governor of Sirhind, against him. The impostor was defeated, driven to the hills, and pursued by the joint forces of Maleck Taan, governor of Jallender, of Zirick Chan, governor of Sammana, and of Maleck Cheir ul Dien, governor of the country between the rivers. The impostor's army deserted him, each man skulking as best he could, and privately retiring to his abode. The imperial forces having no further service to do, separated, and returned to their respective stations.

He again ap-
pears,

and is over-
thrown.

But, in the year following, Saring Chan, the impostor, issued again from his hills, and having made an alliance with Maleck Taan, governor of Jallender, they invested the fort of Sirhind, and ravaged the country as far as Munfurepoor and Pael. The king sent a great army against them, who, giving them a total defeat, drove them out of the kingdom.

Chizer
Chan's expe-
dition to
Mewat.

Dies.

In the year 824, Chizer Chan marched towards Mewat, taking and destroying the fort of Kotillah. Tage ul Maleck dying at that time, the vizarit was conferred upon his son. The sultan turned from thence towards Gualier, where he raised contributions, and then hastened to Attava, levying tribute on the son of Rai Sibbere, who then possessed that country. Falling sick during his progress, he returned to Delhi, where he died on the 17th of Jemmad ul Awil, of this year. He reigned seven years, and a few months; and his death was greatly lamented by the people, being esteemed a just, generous, and benevolent prince, for that age.

SECTION V.

The reign of MOAZ UL DIEN ABUL FATTE Sultan
MUBARICK SHAW.

WHEN Chizer Chan had, by the violence of his disorder, lost all hopes of recovery, he, three days before he expired, appointed his eldest son to succeed him in the empire. Accordingly, two days after the sultan's death, Mubarick Shaw ascended the throne, by the title of Moaz ul Dien Abul Fatte. The new emperor made the usual appointments, raising Maleck Buddir, his cousin, to high honours; and Maleck Rigib ben Suldivi Nadir, to the government of Dibalpoor and Punjaab.

A. D. 1421.
Hig. 824.

Sultan Mu-
barick as-
cends the
throne.

In the month of Jammud ul Awil, he received advices, that Jifferit, the brother of Shecha Gicker, who had, the preceding year, defeated and taken Sultan Ali, king of Cashmire, upon his return from an expedition against Tatta, presuming upon his own power and valour, had taken a resolution to attempt the throne of Delhi. He, for this purpose, invited into his service Maleck Taan, who had fled to the mountains, and appointed him Amir ul Omrah, or commander in chief of his troops. He soon over-run the countries of Punjaab and Lahore, seized upon Zirick Chan, governor of Jallender, by perfidious means, after which he took the place; and immediately thereafter besieged Islam Chan in Sirhind.

Jifferit in-
vades the em-
pire.

Sultan Mubarick Shaw, though the solstitial rains were then in their height, marched from Delhi, and upon his approach to Sirhind, Jifferit raised the siege, and retreated to Ludhana. Zirick Chan, at that place, found means to escape from him, and join the king. The emperor advanced towards Ludhana and Jifferit, crossing the Suttuluz, encamped on the opposite bank; having first pos-
sessed

The sultan
marches a-
gainst him.
Obliges him
to fly.

A. D. 1421.
Hig. 825.

seized himself of all the boats upon the river, which circumstance obliged Mubarick to halt, till the water should fall at Kabulpoor, Jisserit, in the mean time, being determined to oppose his passage. Upon the 11th of Shuwal, Maleck Secunder Topha Vizier, Zirick Chan, Mahmood Hassen, Maleck Callu, and other omrahs, according to the sultan's order, made a forced march, and forded the river, the Sultan himself following them close to support them with the body of the army. Jisserit, by this means, was thrown into confusion, and turned his face to flight. The Sultan kept close to his heels, slew, in the pursuit, a great many of the enemy, and took all their baggage.

Mubarick
rebuilds La-
hore, and re-
turns to Del-
hi.

Jisserit, after this defeat, took refuge in the mountains, in a very distressed condition. But Rai Bimé of Jimmu, having directed the king's army to Bile, a strong fort into which Jisserit had thrown himself, he fled to another place, but was pursued with great slaughter, and Mubarick Shaw, in the Mohirim, of 825, directed his march to Lahore, ordered the ruined palaces and fortifications to be repaired, and, appointing Malleck Hassen governor, returned to Delhi.

Jisserit be-
sieges La-
hore without
success.

Jisserit, collecting his scattered forces, took the field again, and invested Lahore for five months, without success. He then raised the siege, retired to Callanore, and fell upon Rai Bimé, for having given assistance to the king; but the action, which ensued between them, being undecisive, Jisserit went to the banks of the Bea, and began to recruit his army.

Is obliged to
take shelter
in the moun-
tains.

In the mean time, Malleck Secunder Topha, who had been sent to succour Lahore, joined by Malleck Rigib, governor of Debalpoor, and by Islam Chan Lodi, governor of Sirhind, advanced towards Jisserit, and obliged him to cross the Ravi and Chinaab, and to take shelter among the hills. Secunder Topha marched along the Ravi to Callanore; and, upon the frontiers of Jimmu, Rai Bimé joined

joined him, and leading the imperial troops through the hills, where the Gickers were concealed, some thousands of that unhappy people were put to the sword, and Topha returned to Lahore.

A. D. 1421.
Hig. 825.

These successes prevailed upon the king to appoint Topha viceroy of Lahore, and to recall Hassen. But, in the year eight hundred and twenty six, the Sultan deprived him of the vizarit, and conferred it upon Surur ul Muluck, whom he dispatched against the Hindoos of Kittar. The emperor himself followed that general with a greater army. The inhabitants of Kittar were subdued, and a great tribute exacted from them. The Sultan having settled affairs with Mahabut Chan, governor of Budaoon, commanded him to march against the tribe of Toor, whom that general plundered, and took prisoners to a man. The Raja of Attava having, at this time, withdrawn himself from the king's camp, Sultan Mubarick pursued him to that place, and besieged him there. But terms of peace were settled between them, and the Raja's son given as a hostage for his father's future good behaviour. The king, after these transactions, returned to Delhi.

Sultan Mu-
barick in-
vades Kittar.

Malleck Hassen was, about this time, appointed Buxshi, or paymaster and commander in chief of the troops. Jisserit, unconquered by his misfortunes, raised again his head, and, having defeated and slain Rai Bimé, by a fresh acquisition of reputation and wealth, raised an army of Gickers, with which he again attempted the conquest of Delhi. Having ravaged the countries of Lahore and Debalpoor, he collected together very considerable plunder, but when Malleck Secunder Topha advanced against him, he did not chuse to risque a battle, and therefore retired, with his spoils, to the hills, where he busied himself in recruiting his army for another attempt.

In the mean time, Jisserit made an alliance with Amir Ali, a Mogul Omrah, a subject of Mirza Sharoch, who resided at Cabul.

A. D. 1423.
Hig. 827.

He persuaded Amir Ali to make an incursion into the territories of Seistan, Backer, and Tatta, to draw off the king's attention from Delhi, and so to facilitate his own schemes. Malleck Alla ul Dien, regent of Moultan, dying about this time, and the news of Amir Ali's incursion being noised abroad, the sultan, without delay, sent Malleck Mahummud Hassen, with the army, towards Moultan. Sultan Hoshung, raja of Malava, had, in the same year, invested Gualier, which obliged Sultan Mubarick Shaw to raise all the forces of those provinces, and to march against him; levying, on his way, contributions upon Amir Chan, of Biana.

Defeated by
Mubarick.

Sultan Hoshung, upon the approach of Mubarick, crossed the Chumbul, and sat down on the opposite bank. Mubarick Shaw having, in the mean time, found another ford, crossed the river with great expedition, attacked Hoshung in his camp, took many prisoners, and a part of the enemy's baggage. The prisoners being found to be Mahommedans, were dismissed by the king. Hoshung thought it then adviseable to compound all differences, by paying down a sum of money to the sultan; upon which he was permitted to withdraw towards Dhar. Mubarick Shaw having tarried for some time in that place, to levy contributions upon the neighbouring Zemindars, returned, in the month of Rigib, eight hundred and twenty seven, to Delhi.

Sues for
peace.

The sultan, next year, made a motion towards Kittar, where Rai Narasingh came to the banks of the Ganges, to pay his respects to him; but as he did not pay the revenues of his territory, for three years back, he was confined for a few days, till his accounts were settled, and then he was released. The sultan crossed the river, chastised some riotous Zemindars, and returned to Delhi. He did not remain there many days, before he drew his army towards

Mubarick re-
duces Mewat,
and dismisses
his army.

Mewat, from whence he drove the rebels to the hills, and ravaging their country, returned to Delhi; and permitting his omrahs to retire

tire to their jagiers, he gave himself up to pleasure and festivity. A. D. 1423.
Hig. 827.

But the inhabitants of Mewat, rendered more desperate and distressed by the king's bad policy, in ruining their country, were obliged to prey upon their neighbours, and to infest all the adjacent countries. This circumstance obliged the king, in the year eight hundred and twenty nine, to collect again an army to subdue them. Upon his approach, Jillu and Kiddu, the grandsons of Badhader Nahir, retreated to the hills of Alwar, where they defended the passes with great bravery. Being, at length, reduced to great distress, they surrendered themselves, were imprisoned, their country was again ravaged, and the sultan returned to Delhi. Disturbances
in Mewat.

But the distresses of the people of Mewat did not render them peaceable subjects. The sultan, after a recess of four months only, was again obliged to turn his arms against them, and to carry fire and sword through their whole country. He proceeded as far as Biana, where, after the death of Amir Chan, his brother Mahummud held the chief sway. Upon the approach of the sultan, Mahummud shut himself up in the city, which he held out against the king sixteen days; but, upon the desertion of the greatest part of the garrison, he surrendered at discretion, and was, with a rope about his neck, brought into the presence. The sultan delivered the city to the care of Muckbul Chan, and sent Mahummud and his family to Delhi. To Malleck Cheir ul Dien Topha he gave in charge the town of Sikri, known now by the name of Fattipoor, marched to Gualier, raised contributions there, and returned to Delhi. He removed, at that time, Mahummud Hassen from the government of Moulton to that of Firoza, bestowing the former upon Malleck Rigib Nadir. Mewat again
reduced.

A. D. 1423.
Hig. 827.

Mahummud
Chan
escapes, and
raises disturb-
ances.

Flies to Sul-
tan Ibrahim
Shirki.

During these transactions Mahummud Chan found means to escape, with his family, to Mewat, and collecting a considerable force, took the city of Biana, in the absence of Muckbul Chan, on an expedition to Mahaban. The sultan dispatched Malleck Mubariz, whom he appointed to that government, to drive Mahummud Chan from thence. Mahummud retired into the fort, when Malleck Mubariz took possession of the country. After a few days siege he left the defence of the place to some trusty friends, and, issuing out himself, escaped to Sultan Ibrahim Shirki, who was advancing with an army against Calpee.

Kadir Shaw, governor of Calpee, upon this occasion sent expresses to Delhi, for succours. Mubarick Shaw hastened to his relief, and having reached Aterawli, detached Malleck Mahummud Hassen, with ten thousand horse, against Muchtis Chan, the brother of Sultan Shirki, who was in motion with a considerable force to reduce Attava. This detachment, however, encountering Muchtis, drove him back to his brother, and Mahummud Hassen returned to the army.

Sultan Shirki
advances
against Mu-
barick.

Sultan Shirki advanced along the banks of the Black River to Burhanabad, from thence to the village of Raberi, and so on to the banks of Kinhire, where he encamped. Mubarick Shaw, in the mean time, crossing the Jumna, near Chundwar, encamped within five crores of the enemy. Both armies remained in their trenches for the space of twenty-two days, during which time, flight skirmishes daily happened between them. Sultan Shirki, however, upon the seventh of Jemmad ul Achir, marched out of his camp, and offered battle to the king. Mubarick Shaw, though he declined to risque his own person, ordered out his army to oppose Shirki, under the command of his Vizier Surur ul Muluck, Seid ul Sadit, and Seid Sallam.

The

The action commenced, with great fury, about noon, and night parted the combatants; both armies retreating to their respective camps. Sultan Shirki, however, marched off, in the morning, towards Jionpoor, while Mubarick Shaw, contenting himself with the advantage he had gained, returned towards Gualier, crossing the river at Hitgaut. Having received there the usual presents, he turned off towards Biana, into which Mahummud Chan had again thrown himself, after the battle. He made a gallant defence, but was again obliged to capitulate, and had leave to go whithersoever he pleased. Mahummud Hassen was left in the government of that province; and on the fifteenth of Shaban, eight hundred and thirty one, Sultan Mubarick returned victorious and triumphant to Delhi. He there seized Malleck Kuddu Mewati, who had joined himself to Sultan Shirki, and ordered him to be put to death.

A. D. 1427.
Hig. 851.
The armies
engage.
A drawn bat-
tle.

Mubarick
returns to
Delhi.

In the month of Zicada the sultan received advices, that Jifferit had sat down before Callanore, after having defeated Malleck Secunder, who had marched against him, and driven him back to Lahore. Mubarick Shaw sent an order to Zirick Chan, governor of Samana, and Islam Chan, who commanded at Sirhind, to join Malleck Secunder; but, before their arrival, he had marched towards Callanore, and defeated Jifferit in his turn; depriving him of all the plunder he had acquired in that province.

Jifferit be-
sieves Calla-
nore,

is defeated.

Sultan Mubarick Shaw marched to Mewat, in the month of Mohirrim, eight hundred and thirty two, and entirely subdued that country, obliging the inhabitants to pay a regular tribute. In the mean time advices arrived at Delhi, that Malleck Rigib Nadir was dead, upon which, the sultan conferred the title of Ameid ul Muluck upon Mahummud Hassen, who had settled the affairs of Biana, and sent him governor to Moulton. The sultan, in the following year, proceeded to Gualier, which country he ravaged, and carried off some thousands of the poor inhabitants into slavery.

Sultan Mu-
barick sub-
dues Mewat.

Turning

A. D. 1429.
Hig. 833.

Turning then his forces towards Raberi, he wrested that country from the son of Hassen Chan, gave it to Malleck Humza, and afterwards returned to Delhi. Seid Allum dying by the way, his eldest son had the title of Seid Chan conferred upon him, and the youngest that of Suja ul Muluck, together with all the wealth of their father, which was very great; though, according to the custom of Hindostan, it should become the property of the king.

Ingratitude
of the sons of
Seid Allum.

These favours, however, did not secure the faith of the sons of Seid Allum, for they sent Fowlad, a Turkish slave, to Tibberhind, to stir up privately, in their name, an insurrection there. They had formed hopes, it is said, that they might be sent with a force to suppress the rebellion, and so have an opportunity to join the rebels. But the plot was discovered, and both imprisoned; while, in the mean time, Malleck Eufuph and Rai Ibbu, were sent to Tibberhind to confiscate their estates, and suppress the disturbance raised by Fowlad.

Rebellion of
Fowlad.

Fowlad entering into a negotiation, lulled into a negligent security the imperial generals, and sallying one night from his fort, surprised their camp. He was, however, so warmly received by the king's troops, that he was soon driven back. This did not deter him from making another effort next night, at the same time making a great discharge of artillery from the works, which struck a panic into the imperial troops, who took immediately to their heels, leaving their camp standing, with all their baggage. Sultan Mubarick, upon receiving advice of that disaster, was constrained to march towards Tibberhind in person. The rebel daily gathered strength, and the king was obliged to call Ameid ul Muluck from Moultan, and several other governors, to join him. Every thing for the expedition being prepared, the sultan stopped at Sursutti, and dispatched the greatest part of his army to invest the fort of Tibberhind. Fowlad sent a message to the imperial camp, importing, that he had great

Mubarick
marches
against him.

great confidence in Ameid ul Muluck, and said, that if he should be sent with promise of pardon, he himself would deliver up the place. The sultan accordingly sent Ameid ul Muluck to Tibberhind, where Fowlad met him a little without the gate. Having accordingly received assurances of pardon, he promised to give up the place the next day. But one of Ameid ul Muluck's attendants, who was of Fowlad's acquaintance, told him privately, that though Ameid ul Muluck was a man of strict honour, and would certainly adhere to his promise, yet the king might not be so tender of preserving his, and that it was very probable he might bring Fowlad to punishment. Fowlad, after the conference was over, revolved this intimation in his own mind, and repented seriously of his promise; and, therefore, as he had both money and provisions, he determined to hold out to the last.

The sultan seeing that the taking of the place would be a work of time, and that there would be no occasion for so great an army to besiege it, he permitted Ameid ul Muluck to return with the forces of Moultan, and leaving Islam Chan Lodi, Cummal Chan, and Rai Firose, to carry on the siege, he himself retired to Delhi. Fowlad having held out six months, he was greatly distressed, and saw no means of extricating himself, but by an alliance with Amir Shech Ali, governor of Cabul, on the part of Mirza Sharoch, the Mogul king. He sent, for this purpose, messengers to him, with large promises for his assistance. As Sultan Mubarick Shaw had taken no pains to keep upon good terms with the Mogul, the latter left Cabul, and, being in his way joined by the Gickers, crossed the Bea, and ravaged the countries of those omrahs who carried on the siege; and advancing towards Tibberhind, the imperial army decamped and fled. Fowlad, for this signal service, gave to Shech Ali two lacks of rupees, and other presents; and having given to him all the charge of his family, exerted himself in repairing the fortifications, and laying in provisions and ammunition.

A. D. 1429.
Hig. 833.

Besieges him.

The siege
raised by the
Moguls.

Amir

A. D. 1429.
Hig. 833.
who ravage
the country.

Amir Shech Ali, crossing the Suttuluz, committed cruel depredations upon the unhappy country, acquiring of plunder twenty times the value of the subsidy which he had received from Fowlad. Advancing then to Lahore, he raised the usual tribute from Secunder Topha, then returned towards Dibalpoor, desolating the country wherever he went; insomuch that forty thousand Hindoos were computed to have been massacred, besides a greater number carried away prisoners. Ameid ul Muluck posted himself to oppose Ali, at the town of Tilbanna, but he gave him the slip, and went to Chitpoor, when Ameid ul Muluck received the sultan's orders to retreat to save Moultan. The flight of the imperial army encouraged the enemy to follow them beyond the Ravi, and to lay waste the country, to within ten crores of Moultan. Ali defeated there Islam Chan Lodi, who had been left to stop his progress.

March to
Moultan.

From thence the Moguls advanced to Cheirabad, within three crores of the city, and the next day, which was the fourth of Ramzan, they made an assault upon the place, but were beat back. They continued, however, from their camp to make daily excursions towards the city, putting all whom they could meet to the sword.

The sultan
sends an ar-
my against
them.

The sultan being informed of these transactions, sent Fatte Chan and Mubarick Chan of Guzerat, with Zirick Chan, Malleck Calla Shenipile, Malleck Eufoph, Kummal Chan, Rai Hibbu, and other omrahs of distinction, to succour Ameid ul Muluck; who, upon being joined by all these with their forces, went out, and offered battle to Ali. Ali did not decline it, and a furious conflict ensued, in the beginning of which the Moguls gained some advantage.

The Moguls
overthrown.

However, upon the death of Fatte Chan, the gale of fortune changed, and blew with the standards of Hindostan. Shech Ali, at one stroke, played away all his gains, escaping, with a few attendants only, to Cabul, his whole army being either killed or drowned in the Gelum, in their precipitate flight.

Ameid

Ameid ul Muluck, having pursued the runaways to Shinnore, returned victorious to Moultan, and the omrahs, who had succoured him, repaired, by the king's orders, to Delhi; and soon after, the sultan, jealous of the success of Ameid ul Muluck, called him also to court. Jisserit took advantage of his absence, crossed the Gelum, Ravi, and Bea, and fought Malleck Secunder Topha, near Jillender, defeated and took him prisoner, with all his treasure and baggage. He forthwith advanced and besieged Lahore. Shech Ali, at the same time, at the instigation of Jisserit, made another incursion towards Moultan, and, having taken Tilbunna, by capitulation, he broke his word, plundered the place, massacred all the men able to bear arms, and carried their wives and children into captivity, laying the town in ruins.

A. D. 1430.
Hig. 834.

Jisserit invades the empire.

Besieges Lahore.

Fowlad, taking also advantage of these disturbances, marched out of Tibberhind, and invading the country of Rai Firose, defeated him. Sultan Mubarick Shaw thought it now high time to march from Delhi. He, accordingly, upon the first of Jemmad ul Awil, eight hundred and thirty-five, took the route of Lahore, appointing Malleck Surûr, his vizier, governor of that place, and to command in the van of his army. Malleck Surûr arriving at Sammana, Jisserit raised the siege of Lahore, and retreated to the hills. Shech Ali hastened back to Cabul, and Fowlad again shut himself up in Tibberhind. The Sultan, upon this, took the government of Lahore from the vizier, and gave it to Nuferit Chan Birkandaz; then returning, encamped near Panniput, on the banks of the Jumna, sending Ameid ul Muluck with a part of the army to suppress some insurrections about Gualier, and Malleck Surûr to besiege Tibberhind; he himself returning to Delhi.

Sultan Mubarick raises the siege.

In the month of Zibidge, Jisserit advanced again to Lahore, and commenced hostilities against Nuferit Chan, which obliged the sultan, in the year eight hundred and thirty-six, to march from Delhi as far as Sammana. Intelligence was brought to him in that place of the death

Mubarick marches against Jisserit.

A. D. 1432.
Hig. 836.

of his mother, Muchduma Jehan, and he immediately returned, with a few attendants; and, after performing the funeral obsequies, went back to his army. After his arrival in the camp, he suddenly changed his resolution, and turned back towards Mewat, conferring the government of Lahore upon Malleck Alleh Daad Lodi, who promised to expel Jifferit. But Jifferit, upon hearing of the sultan's return, was joined by a great body of Gickers, who imagined that his affairs bore a better aspect, so that he was in a condition to receive Alleh Daad Lodi, whom he defeated.

Shech Ali
takes Lahore,

The sultan having received the news of this overthrow, and also that Shech Ali, governor of Cabul, was coming towards Tibberhind, took again the rout of Punjaab, sending before him Ameid ul Muluck to reinforce the omrahs who were besieging Tibberhind. Upon his approach, Malleck Shech Ali, who stood in awe of him, laid aside his intentions of coming to Tibberhind, and turned away, by forced marches, towards Lahore, which he surprized, and began a horrid scene of massacre and depredation. But hearing that the sultan had reached Tilbundi, Ali left a garrison of two thousand men in the place, and retreated towards Cabul, ravaging the country in his way, and leaving his nephew, Muziffer, in the fort of Shinnore.

which is re-
taken by Mu-
barick.

Shinnore ca-
pitulates.

The sultan, a second time advanced Malleck Secunder Topha, who had ransomed himself, to the government of Lahore, Dibalpoor, and Jillender, upon which he advanced and laid siege to the city. He took it by capitulation, and permitted the garrison to retire to Cabul. He immediately crossed the Ravi, near Tilbundi, and invested Shinnore. Malleck Muziffer held up in that place the standard of opposition for a whole month, but being hard pressed, he capitulated, by giving his daughter to the sultan, and paying a great ransom for his liberty. Mubarick left a great part of his army at Dibalpoor, and, with a select body, marched himself to Moulton to visit the tombs of the saints, from whence he returned in a few days

days to his camp. He, at this time, turned Secunder Topha again out of his government of Lahore, and gave it to Ameid ul Muluck, and returned with great expedition to Delhi. Being jealous of the power of Surûr ul Malleck, the vizier, he joined Kammal ul Dien with him in the vizarit; and, the latter being esteemed a man of superior abilities, he soon gained the favour of his sovereign and the people.

A. D. 1432.
Hig. 836.

Surûr ul Malleck became dissatisfied, and began to project treason. Having gained over Sidarin and Sidpal, two great Hindoo chiefs of the tribe of Kittrie, Miran Sidder, deputy to the Aziz Mummalik, Cafi Abdul Summud, lord of the private chambers, and others, they watched an opportunity to assassinate the king.

A conspiracy
formed
against the
sultan.

About this time, Mubarick Shaw had ordered a city to be founded upon the banks of the Jumna, calling it Mubarick Abad, and made an excursion towards Tibberhind, as it were to take the diversion of hunting. Having, on the way, received advices that Tibberhind was taken, and being presented with the head of Fowlad, he returned to Mubarick Abad. He there received intelligence that war was carrying on between Sultan Ibrahim Shirki, and Sultan Hoshung Malavi, near Calpie, which was a very agreeable piece of news to Mubarick Shaw, who sought an opportunity to expel Sultan Shirki from his dominions. He therefore gave orders to muster his army, and pitching his tent without the city, delayed a few days in regulating and collecting his forces, during which time he continued to visit the new works without fear of danger, having never given offence to his nobility, except in changing or turning them out of their governments when they misbehaved.

Upon the ninth of the month of Rigib, in the year eight hundred and thirty-seven, according to his custom, he went to worship at a new mosque which he had built at Mubarick Abad, with only a few attendants. The conspirators rushed in, in armour, with drawn

He is assassinated.

A. D. 1433. swords upon him, and basely assassinated him. Surûr ul Malleck
 Hig. 837. having previously settled matters with Sultan Mahummud, one of
 the grandsons of Chizer Chan, raised that prince to the throne.

His charac-
 ter.

Mubarick Shaw reigned thirteen years, three months, and sixteen days. He was esteemed a man of parts, just and benevolent, and, though no great warrior, had he lived in a virtuous age, there is no doubt but he possessed talents which might render him worthy of a throne.

SECTION VI.

The reign of Sultan MAHUMMUD SHAW BEN FERID CHAN
 BEN CHIZER CHAN.

Mahummud
 Shaw mounts
 the throne.

ACCORDING to the custom of the world, which cannot subsist without rule, the same day that Sultan Mubarick Shaw was sent to eternity, Mahummud Shaw was established upon the throne. The ungrateful assassin, Surûr ul Malleck, received the title of Chan Jehan, and seized upon the king's treasure, regalia, and other effects, discharging all the old omrahs from office, and appointing new ones, who might, in time, serve his ambitious views.

The omrahs
 disguise their
 discontent.

Kummal ul Malleck, and other omrahs, who were in the camp, having consulted among themselves, upon hearing of the king's death, resolved, rather than kindle a civil war in the country, to bear with the times, to pay allegiance to the new king, and to wait a more proper and more certain opportunity of taking revenge upon the conspirators. They came into the city and paid their compliments to Mahummud Shaw. The first preferments, which the
 vizier

vizier gave away to facilitate his future schemes, was to appoint the two Hindoo conspirators to the governments of Biana, Amrohi, Narnoul, and Coram; and Miran Sidder, with the title of Moain ul Malleck, was presented with a very considerable jagier. The son of Seid Salem was dignified with the title of Chan Azim Seid Chan, and the government of several countries were conferred upon him. But the omrahs, and dependants of Mubarick Shaw, were, by tricks and false accusations, killed, imprisoned, banished, robbed, or turned out of office.

A. D. 1433.
Hig. 837.
The vizier's
tyranny.

A slave of Surûr ul Malleck, whose name was Rana Shech, was sent collector of the revenues to Biana, but Eufoph Chan Lodi fought and slew him near that place. At the same time some of the omrahs of Mubarick Shaw and of Chizer Chan, who saw that there was a design on foot to deprive them of their jagiers, particularly Malleck Chimun, governor of Budaoon, Malleck Alleh Daad Lodi, who commanded at Simbol, Meer Ali of Guzerat, and Amir Shech, the Turk, erected the spear of rebellion, upon which the vizier, deceived by the behaviour of Kummal ul Malleck, gave him the command of the army, and sent Chan Azim Sidarin, and his own son Eufoph, along with him, to suppress the rebels. But when they came to the village of Birren, Kummal ul Malleck intended to take revenge on Sidarin and Eufoph, for the murder of the king. He therefore acquainted Malleck Allah Daad Lodi of his resolutions, who, for that reason, made no motion towards them. This design being, however, discovered to the vizier, he sent Malleck Hoshier, his own slave, with a great army, under pretence of succours, with private instructions, to prevent the effects of the plot. Kummal ul Malleck, however, had, at Ahare, joined his forces with Malleck Alla Daad Lodi, before the reinforcement, under the vizier's slave, arrived. Hoshier, hearing of this junction, thought that there was no safety for him, and he, therefore, fled, with Eufoph and Sidarin, to Delhi. Kummal ul Malleck

The omrahs
rise in arms.

The vizier's
army revolts,

A. D. 1433. Malleck immediately sent to call the disaffected omrahs, who joined
 Hig. 837. him without delay, so that, upon the last of Ramzan, he moved,
 and march to Delhi. with a great army, towards Delhi.

The vizier
 besieged in
 the citadel.

The sultan
 plots against
 him.

The vizier shut himself up in the citadel of Seri, which he held out three months; but as the party of Kummal ul Malleck daily gained strength and reputation, he was driven to great distress. Sultan Mahummud Shaw, perceiving that his own affairs would be ruined, if he should adhere to the vizier, endeavoured to conciliate matters with the besiegers, and, at the same time, sought an opportunity of making his escape, or cutting off the vizier.

His counter-
 plot.

Is slain.

The vizier discovering this plot, designed to be beforehand with the sultan; accordingly, upon the eighth of Mohirrim, with the sons of Miran Sidder, and with some of his own adherents, he broke into the king's apartment. But Mahummud, having suspected him of such intentions, had privately a guard at hand, who, on a signal given, rushed upon the conspirators. They immediately betook themselves to flight; but the vizier was cut to pieces, as he was rushing out of the door, and thus met the fate which he designed for his lord. The sons of Miran Sidder, and the rest of the assassins, were taken, and put to death, while Malleck Hoshiar and Malleck Mubarick, who were parties concerned, were publicly executed. The Kittries, and other adherents of Surûr ul Malleck, afraid of themselves, rose up in arms. The king was obliged to shut himself up, ordering the Bagdat-gate to be thrown open to the besiegers, who, rushing in accordingly, began a dreadful massacre among the rebels, till they entirely subdued them. Such as remained alive were bound and sacrificed at the tomb of Sultan Mubarick Shaw.

Punishment
 of the mur-
 derers of Mu-
 barick.

The omrahs
 swear alle-
 giance to
 Mahummud
 Shaw.

Kummal ul Malleck, and the other omrahs, swore allegiance the next day, for the second time, to Mahummud Shaw; Malleck
 having

having the title of Kummal Chan, with the vizarit conferred upon him, Malleck Chimun being dignified with the title of Ghazi Malleck, and a jagier. The other omrahs were confirmed in their former offices, governments, and estates.

A. D. 1434.
Hig. 838.

When matters were completely settled at Delhi, the king, by the advice of his counsellors, made a campaign towards Moultan, and encamping near Mubarickpoor, gave orders to draw together his army from all the provinces. Many of the omrahs, being intimidated, delayed to repair to the imperial standard till Ameid ul Muluck arrived from Moultan, adding power to enforce the royal commands, by a numerous army, which he brought with him. All the other provincial omrahs hastened to the camp, and were honored with dresses, and other marks of favor and distinction. The sultan moved towards Moultan, to make a parade with his army, and, having visited the tombs of the saints, returned to his capital.

The sultan
marches to-
wards Moul-
tan,

In the year eight hundred and forty, he marched towards Sammana, and detached a part of his army against Jifferit, the Gicker, who was raising disturbances. The country of Jifferit was plundered, and the king returned to Delhi, where he gave himself up entirely to pleasure, neglecting all the cares and necessary affairs of government. The accounts of the sultan's luxurious indolence soon affected the state. Dissatisfaction began to appear first in Moultan, where a tribe of Patans, called Linga, rose in rebellion. At the same time, Malleck Beloli Lodi, who, after the death of his uncle, Islam Chan, became governor of Sirhind, without any orders, possessed himself of the city and districts of Lahore and Debalpoor, with all the country back to Panniput.

and to Sam-
mana.

Gives him-
self up to in-
dolence and
pleasure.

A revolt in
Moultan.

The sultan receiving intelligence of this revolt, sent his whole army against him, who drove him back to the hills. In the retreat many chiefs of distinction were put to the sword, but Malleck Be-

Malleck Be-
loli defeats
the imperial
army.

loli

A. D. 1438.
Hig. 842.

Beloli recruited his army, and, when the sultan's forces were withdrawn, he again possessed himself of all the countries from which they had driven him. The sultan, this time, sent Hissam Chan, the vizier's deputy, against him, who was defeated, and beat back to Delhi; upon which, Malleck Beloli wrote to the sultan, that if he would put Hissam Chan to death, who, by his intrigues, had been the occasion of this rebellion, he would lay down his arms.

The sultan's
concessions to
the rebels,

alienate the
minds of his
subjects.

Confusions
in the empire.

The sultan was weak enough to listen to this arrogant proposal, and accordingly gave orders for the death of Hissam Chan. He also deprived Kummal Chan of the vizarit, and conferred it upon Hamid Chan, appointing another person deputy, with the title of Hissam Chan. The governors of the provinces observing this pusillanimous and impolitic behaviour of the king, predicted his destruction, and endeavoured to secure their own independency; while the subjects and zemindars, foreseeing the convulsions that must have ensued in the state, with-held their rents, in hopes that they might be passed over, in the general confusion.

A. D. 1440.
Hig. 844.

Sultan Ibrahim Shirki possessed himself of several districts adjoining to his dominions, and Sultan Mahmood Chillegi, king of Malava, made an attempt on the capital; and, in the year eight hundred and forty four, advanced within two crores of the city. Mahummud Shaw, struck with terror in this urgent situation of affairs, imprudently sent an embassy to Malleck Beloli Lodi, to beg his assistance. Beloli accordingly, with twenty thousand Persian horse, came to Delhi; Mahummud Shaw, though his army was greatly superior to the enemy, was afraid to take the field by himself, but committed the charge of the whole to his omrahs, and reposed himself in the Haram. The omrahs, according to orders, advanced with the army against the enemy, Malleck Beloli leading the van.

The impolitic and cowardly behaviour of the king.

When

When Sultan Mahmood Chilligi was given to understand, that the king of Delhi was not present, he thought it was meant as an affront to him; and, to be on a footing with Mahummud, he committed the charge of his army to his sons Yeaz ul Dien and Kuddir Chan. The two armies having engaged, the troops of Delhi gave way, and left Malleck Beloli alone to dispute the field, which he maintained with invincible resolution, till the fugitives, ashamed of their behaviour, returned to the action. Night, however, coming on, the victory was left undecided. Sultan Mahmood Chilligi being greatly frightened by a dream that night, and having heard, in the morning, that Sultan Ahmed, of Guzerat, was advanced as far as Mundo, he was more and more intimidated, and began to be desirous of making peace: but shame prevented him from expressing his wishes. At the same time, Sultan Mahummud, with less reason, and contrary to the advice of all his counsellors, gave himself up to base fear, and sent ambassadors with presents to his rival to beg peace.

A. D. 1441.
Hig. 845.

A drawn battle.

A peace concluded.

Sultan Mahmood Chilligi was overjoyed at these proposals, which saved the appearance of his reputation, and immediately accepting them, marched from the field. Malleck Beloli, who now began justly to despise them both, and to aspire to the empire, marched out of the city with his own troops, and pursuing Sultan Mahmood Chilligi, attacked him upon his march, defeated him, and took all his baggage. The weak sultan, who did not hitherto see through his palpable intentions, gave him the title of Chan Chanan, and adopted him for his son.

Mahmood Chilligi attacked and defeated by Beloli.

Beloli adopted by the sultan.

In the year eight hundred and forty five, the sultan marched to Samana, giving the governments of Lahore and Debalpoor to Malleck Beloli, and ordering him to expel Jifferit. He himself returned to his capital. Malleck Beloli, by this means, became extremely powerful, and recruited a great army of Afghans; but, instead of

He marches against Delhi.

A. D. 1446. fighting Jifferit, he brought him over to his party, and began to
 Hig. 850. feize upon several districts, without any orders from the king. At length, without any apparent reason, but his ambition, he drew his army against Delhi, which he besieged for some months, but, in the end, was obliged to abandon his enterprize.

The king's
 power de-
 clines.

He dies.

His charact-
 er.

The king's power was greatly weakened, and began to decay very rapidly. The zemindars of Biana put themselves under the government of Sultan Mahmood Chilligi. In the mean time, Sultan Mahummud fell sick and died, in the year eight hundred and forty nine, leaving behind him the character of a weak, dissolute, and unwarlike prince; owing to the ambition of others a throne, upon which he could not sit with dignity himself. He reigned twelve years and some months, and his son Alla ul Dien succeeded him in the empire.

SECTION VII.

The reign of Sultan ALLA UL DIEN BEN MAHUMMUD SHAW.

Alla mounts
 the throne.

WHEN Sultan Alla ul Dien had placed his foot upon the musnud of Delhi, all the omrahs, excepting Malleck Beloli Lodi, came and swore allegiance to him. This contempt of Beloli, the new sultan was in no condition to chastise. But having collected an army, in the beginning of the year eight hundred and fifty, he marched to recover Biana. When he was upon the way, there was a rumor propagated, that the king of Jionpoor was advancing towards Delhi, which, though false, brought back the sultan to his capital; though he was told by Hiffam Chan, the vizier, how ridiculous it would appear in a king to be guided by a vague report. This reprimand brought upon the vizier the sultan's displeasure.

This

This step, however, proved ruinous to the sultan's reputation, and the meanest of the people feared not to say publicly, that he was a weaker man, and a greater fool, than his father. He marched in the following year to Budaoon, where he remained some time, laying out gardens, building pleasure-houses, and making entertainments, and then returned to Delhi. Pretending that the air of Budaoon agreed better with his health, he expressed an inclination of making that city his residence, to divert him from which, the vizier took much pains, but only incurred more and more his displeasure.

A. D. 1447.
Hig. 851.
Loses his reputation.

His luxury.

All Hindostan was, at this time, divided into separate states; for in the Decan, Guzerat, Malava, Jionpoor, and Bengal, there were princes who assumed the stile and dignity of kings; while Punjaab, Debalpoor, and Sirhind, even to Panniput, was possessed by Malleck Beloli Lodi. Merowli, and all the country to the Serai of Lado, within seven crores of Delhi, were in the hands of Ahmed Chan of Mewat; Simbol, close to the walls of the city, was possessed by Deria Chan Lodi; Kole, by Isah Chan; Rabari, by Cuttub Chan, the Afghan; Cumpela and Pattiali, by Rai Partab; Biana was subject to Daood Chan Odi; so that the city of Delhi, and a few small districts, remained only to the king.

The state of Hindostan.

Decayed condition of the empire.

Malleck Beloli made, about this time, another attempt upon the city, but was not more successful than he was before. The sultan, relieved from this danger, began to consult the means to recover part of his lost empire, advising with Cuttub Chan, Isah Chan, and Rai Partab. These chiefs, desirous to weaken him still more, told him, that the omrahs were all disgusted with his vizier; that, should he be turned out of office, and imprisoned, they were ready to pay him due allegiance, and made no doubt but the affairs of the empire would put on a more favorable aspect. The weak Alla became the dupe of those traitors, and accordingly imprisoned and disgraced

Malleck Beloli makes an unsuccessful attempt upon Delhi.

A. D. 1448.
Hig. 852. graced his vizier. He immediately ordered preparations to be made for removing his court to Budaoon, from which not all the remonstrances of his best friends could restrain him; though they represented, in a strong light, how impolitic it would be, at such a juncture, to change his capital.

Fixes his residence at Budaoon.

Orders the vizier to be put to death,

who escapes to Delhi,

and places Sultan Beloli upon the throne.

Alla accordingly, in the year eight hundred and fifty two, set out for Budaoon, leaving Hissam Chan in the government of Delhi. When the sultan arrived at this new capital, Cuttub Chan and Rai Partab waited upon him, and told him, that as long as the vizier was alive, the omrahs could not be brought to trust themselves at court. The weak king was prevailed upon to command him to be put to death; but the vizier's brother having notice given him of this bloody purpose, found means, with the assistance of some of his friends, to release him, and to escape to Delhi. He there took immediate possession of all the sultan's effects, and turned his haram out of the city.

The sultan put off the time by ridiculous procrastinations, and vain excuses of the weather, and unlucky times, till the vizier had called Malleck Beloli to take upon him the empire. Beloli, glad of the opportunity, amused the sultan, by writing to him, that he was coming to chastise the vizier, till he arrived and took possession of the city, taking upon himself the title of Sultan Beloli. He, however, gave place to the name of Sultan Alla ul Dien, in the Chutba, in the year eight hundred and fifty four.

He gave the city in charge to his son, Chaja Baezid, marched in person to Debalpoor, and collected together a great army of Afghans. He wrote, at the same time, to Sultan Alla ul Dien, that, upon his account, he had expelled the vizier; and he received for answer, from that weak prince, that as his father had adopted Beloli as his son, he would esteem him his brother; he moreover promised

promised to cede to him the empire, upon condition that he would permit him to live quietly in the possession of Budaoon.

A. D. 1450.
Hig. 854.
Alla abdicates in favour of Beloli.

Sultan Beloli threw immediately the name of Alla out of the Chutba, and spread the umbrella of empire over his own head. Sultan Alla ul Dien remained at Budaoon till his death, which happened in the year eight hundred and eighty three; his reign in Delhi being seven years, and his government of Budaoon near twenty eight.

SECTION VIII.

The reign of Sultan BELOLI LODI.

BELOLI LODI was an Afghan, of the tribe of Lodi, which people, forming themselves into a commercial society, carried on a trade between Persia and Hindostan. In the time of Sultan Firose Shaw, Malleck Ibrahim, the grandfather of Beloli, being possessed of wealth, made his way at the court of Delhi, and raised himself to the government of Moulton. Malleck Ibrahim had five sons, Malleck Sultan Shech, Malleck Culla, Malleck Firose, Malleck Mahummud, and Malleck Chaja, who, on the death of their father remained in Moulton.

Beloli's family.

When Chizer Chan was appointed to that government, Sultan Shech received the command of all his Afghan troops. In the action which Chizer Chan had with Eckbal Chan, Sultan Shech had the good fortune to kill Eckbal, by which means he became a great favorite with Chizer Chan. He was accordingly appointed by that prince governor of Sirhind, with the title of Islam Chan, while his brothers partook of his fortune. One of whom, Malleck Calla, the father of Sultan Beloli, had a district bestowed upon him by his brother.

A. D. 1450. brother. The wife of Calla, who was his own cousin, being smothered by the fall of a house, when with child, the father instantly ripped up her belly, and saved the life of the infant, who afterwards held the empire, by the title of Sultan Beloli.
 Hig. 854.
 Account of his birth.

Distinguishes himself in an action. Calla being killed in an action with the Afghans of Neaz, Beloli went to his uncle, Islam Chan, at Sirhind, and upon his distinguishing himself in a battle, his uncle gave him his own daughter in marriage. Islam Chan was, at this time, so powerful, that he retained twelve thousand Afghans, mostly of his own tribe, in his service.

Islam Chan recommends Beloli to the government of Sirhind. Islam Chan, at his death, though he had children of his own come to maturity, recommended Beloli to succeed him. The troops upon this divided into three parties, one of which adhered to Beloli, one to Malleck Firose, brother to Islam Chan, who had been made an omrah by the king of Delhi, and the other to Cuttub Chan, the son of Islam Chan. But Malleck Beloli, who was the most artful of the three, found means to weaken his rivals, and encrease his own power.

Cuttub Chan complains at the court of Delhi. Cuttub Chan repaired to Delhi, and acquainted Sultan Mahumud Shaw, that the Afghans of Sirhind were establishing a power, which, unless it was soon prevented, would shake the empire. The sultan immediately dispatched Secunder Topha, with a powerful army, to bring the chiefs of the Afghans to court, and if they disobeyed, to expel them from Sirhind.

Perfidy of the imperial generals. Jisserit was also instigated to take arms against them, by which means they were, in the end, driven to the hills; but upon a promise of peace, and of their future good behaviour, Malleck Firose left his son Shai Chan and Malleck Beloli with his army, and, with some attendants, went to Jisserit and Malleck Secunder Topha. They,

They, notwithstanding their promise, by the advice of **Cuttub Chan**, imprisoned him and slew all his attendants. They also dispatched part of their army to reduce **Beloli**, but he retreated to a place of safety, with the women and children. Before he could join **Shai Chan**, he was attacked and defeated, and a great part of his army slain.

A. D. 1450.
Hig. 854.

When **Jifferit** had retired to **Punjaab**, **Beloli** collected the remains of his tribe, and began to raise contributions, or plunder wherever he could, and as he was extremely generous in dividing the spoil among his followers, he soon became very powerful. Some time after **Malleck Firose** fled from **Delhi**, and joined him; and **Cuttub Chan**, repenting of his former behaviour, found means to be reconciled to **Beloli**. **Beloli** soon after invaded **Sirhind**, and possessed himself of that province. Upon receiving intelligence of these transactions, **Sultan Mahummud Shaw** sent **Hissam Chan**, his vizier, with a great army against him. **Malleck Beloli** took the field, and giving the vizier battle, defeated him, by which his power and reputation greatly encreased.

Beloli becomes powerful.

We are told, that when **Beloli** was yet a youth in his uncle's service, one day he was permitted to pay his respects to a famous **Dirvesh** of **Sammana**, whose name was **Sheidai**. When he sat in a respectful posture before him, the **Dirvesh** cried out, in an enthusiastick manner, "Who will give two thousand rupees for the empire of **Delhi**?" Upon which **Malleck Beloli** told him, he had only one thousand six hundred rupees in the world, which he ordered his servant to bring immediately and present to the **Dirvesh**. The **Dirvesh** accepted the money, and, laying his hand upon the head of **Beloli**, saluted him king.

Is promised the empire by a **Dirvesh**.

The companions of **Beloli** ridiculed him very much for this action; but he replied, "That, if the thing came to pass, he had made

Reflexion upon that tale.

“made a cheap purchase; if not, the blessing of a holy man could do him no harm.”

Upon a mind naturally ambitious, and in an age of superstition, this prediction of the Dirvesh might have great effect, in promoting its own end; for when a man's mind is once bent upon the attainment of one object, the greatest difficulties will be often surmounted, by a steady perseverance. But to return from this digression.

A. D. 1450.
Hig. 854.

After Beloli had defeated the vizier, he wrote to the sultan, as before related, laying the whole blame of his rebellion upon the vizier's conduct towards him. When the sultan basely complied with his desire of cutting off the vizier, Beloli, according to his promise, waited upon the king, that he might be better able to carry on his intrigues at court. He managed his affairs at Delhi so well, that he got the government of Sirhind, and other districts near it, confirmed to him in jagier; which were the means that enabled him to mount the musnud, as we have already seen, in the former reign.

His sons and
relations.

He had, at the time of his accession, nine sons, Chaja Baezid, Nizam Chan, who was afterwards Sultan Secunder; Barba Shaw, Mubarick Chan, Sultan Alla ul Dien, Jemmâl Chan, Miah Jacob, Miah Mufah, and Jellâl Chan; and of omrahs of renown, who were related to him, there were thirty six in the empire.

His strata-
gem against
Hamid Chan.

As Hamid Chan, the vizier, who conferred the empire upon him, had great influence still in the state, he treated him for some time with honor and respect. Being one day in Hamid Chan's house, at an entertainment, he ordered the companions whom he carried with him, to make themselves appear as foolish and ridiculous as possible, that the vizier might consider them as
filly

illy fellows; that so he might be less upon his guard against them. A. D. 1450.
Hig. 854.
When they accordingly came into company, some tied their shoes to their girdles, and others put them up in the niches of the apartment.

Hamid Chan asked them the reason of that extraordinary custom. They replied, that they were afraid of thieves. When they had taken their seats upon the carpet, one of them began to praise the flowers, and brightness of the colours, saying, He would be extremely glad to have such a carpet, to send home to his own country, to make caps for his boys. Hamid Chan laughed, and told him, he would give him velvet or brocade for that purpose. When the plates and boxes of perfumes were laid before them, some began to rub the finest otter of roses all over them, others to drink it, and others to devour whole festoons of flowers, while the beetle stood no chance, but was eat up, cover and all; some, who had eat large pieces of chunam, by having their mouths burnt, made a terrible outcry; and, in this kind of foolery every one was endeavouring to outdo another, while the king and the vizier were almost bursting with laughter.

The vizier, imagining that this behaviour proceeded from the king's humour, who had a mind to make merry in his house, was extremely pleased, and had no suspicion of men given to so much mirth. The next visit the king paid to Hamid Chan, a greater number of his attendants were admitted; but as Hamid Chan had still a greater number of his own friends within the court, it was necessary to gain admission for some more of the king's people, who were stopped without by the guards. The king having before instructed them how to proceed in this case, they began loudly to wrangle with the guard, and threw out bitter invectives against the king, for permitting them to be so unworthily treated. They even swore that they respected the vizier, and would see him.

A.D. 1451.
Hig. 855.

The vizier
seized in his
own house.

The vizier hearing this, ordered the doors to be thrown open, and as many to be admitted as the court could contain. This point being gained, the king gave the signal, and all his people drawing at once, told Hamid Chan's servants to remain quiet, and they should come to no harm. Upon which two or three seized the vizier, and bound him. The king then told him, that gratitude was a security for his life, but that it was necessary he should retire from business, and spend the rest of his days in the cares of a future state. After this the king ruled without fear or controul.

Beloli regu-
lates the west-
ern provin-
ces.

Delhi be-
sieged.

The same year, the eight hundred and fifty fifth of the Higera, he left Delhi, under the charge of his eldest son, Chaja Baezid, and marched towards Moulton to recruit his army, and to regulate all these western provinces. Some of his omrahs being dissatisfied at this time, left him, and joined Sultan Mahmood Shirki, of Jionpoor, who, during the absence of Beloli, in the beginning of the year eight hundred and fifty six, advanced with a great army, and laid siege to Delhi. Sultan Beloli hastened from Debalpoor, march by march, nor halted till he reached Perah, within thirty miles of Delhi.

Beloli defeats
the army of
Sultan Shir-
ki.

Sultan Mahmood send thirty thousand horse, and thirty elephants, under the command of Fatti Chan Herevi against him. When the action began, Cuttub Chan, who excelled in archery, having sunk an arrow in the forehead of one of Fatti Chan's elephants, the animal became outrageous, and broke the lines. Cuttub Chan, in the mean time, advancing against Diria Chan Lodi, one of the disaffected omrahs, who had joined Sultan Mahmood, cried out—
“For shame! Diria Chan, where is your honor, thus to wage war
“against your own kindred, and to invest your wife and family in
“the city of Delhi, when you ought rather to defend them against
“your natural enemies?” “Pursue me not,” said Diria Chan,
“and I am gone;” and he immediately wheeled off, followed by all the Patans, or Afghans, in Fatti Chan's army.

The

The other troops being thus deserted, gave way, and Fatti Chan was taken prisoner; but having, with his own hand, just killed the brother of Rai Kirren, that omrah, in revenge, struck off his head, and sent it to the sultan. Upon receiving the news of this defeat, Sultan Mahmood raised the siege of Delhi, and retreated with great precipitation to Jionpoor.

A. D. 1452.
Hig. 856.

The siege of
Delhi raised.

The sultanit of Beloli became firmly established, and he began to turn his thoughts upon new acquisitions. His first movement was towards Mewat, where Hamid Chan submitted himself to his authority. The sultan took seven pergunnahs from him, and permitted him to hold the remainder in fee. Beloli from thence marched to Birren, and Diria Chan Lodi, governor of Simbol, presented him with seven more pergunnahs, and submitted in like manner. He then took the rout of Koli, and confirmed Isah Chan in that government. He continued his progress to Barhana-bad, and gave that province to Mubarick Chan, while Bowgaw was delivered over to Rai Partab. But when he advanced to Raberi, Cuttub Chan Ben Haffin Chan shut himself up in the fort, but the sultan took it in a few days by capitulation, and again settled him in the same government. Beloli marching from thence to Attava, he regulated that government, and confirmed the former Suba.

Beloli's pro-
gress through
several pro-
vinces.
Their sub-
mission.

Jonah Chan quitted, about this time, the court in disgust, and joined Sultan Mahmood Shirki, from whom he received the government of Shumseabad. Jonah instigated Sultan Mahmood to make another attempt upon Delhi, who, for that purpose, took the route of Attava, where he met Sultan Beloli. The armies, the first day of their appearance in fight, on both sides sent out parties to skirmish, but nothing remarkable was done, and, the next day, they began to treat, when it was agreed, that Sultan Beloli should keep possession of all the countries possessed by Mubarick Shaw, and that Sultan Mahmood should hold all that was in the possession

Sultan Shirki
has designs
upon Delhi.

A peace be-
tween the
Sultans.

of Sultan Ibrahim, of Jionpoor; that the former should give up all the elephants taken in the engagement with Fatti Chan, and the latter turn Jonah Chan out of his government.

Sultan Mahmood, immediately after this pacification, returned to Jionpoor, and Sultan Beloli went to Shumseabad to take possession of it. This latter expedition of Beloli greatly offended Sultan Mahmood, and he immediately returned to Shumseabad, where Cuttub Chan and Diria Chan Lodi surprized his camp in the night. But during the attack, the horse of Cuttub Chan having trod upon a tent-pin, threw him, and he was taken by the enemy, and his party retreated to their own camp. Sultan Beloli drew out his army in the morning, but received advice that Sultan Mahmood had just expired, and that the omrahs had set up his son Mahummud Shaw; and, by the mediation of Bibi Raja, the young king's mother, who probably had received previous assurances, a peace was immediately concluded. Mahummud Shaw returned to Jionpoor, and Sultan Beloli took the rout of Delhi.

Before the sultan arrived at the capital, he received a letter from Shumsh Chatoon, the sister of Cuttub Chan, conjuring him, in the most tender manner, not to suffer her brother to remain in captivity. This prevailed upon Beloli to break up the peace he had just concluded, and to march towards Jionpoor. Mahummud Shaw met him near Sirfutti. The younger brother of Mahummud Shaw, Hassen Chan, fearing his brother's resentment for some trespass, took this opportunity of marching off, with all his adherents, to Kinnoge. Sittal Chan, his other brother, soon followed him, but the detachment which Sultan Beloli had sent after Hassen Chan, met Sittal Chan on the way, and took him prisoner. The sultan determined to keep him as a ransom for Cuttub Chan.

In

In the mean time, the omrahs conspired against Mahummud Shaw, and having assassinated him, advanced Hassen Chan, who had fled to Kinnoge, to the throne. Sultan Beloli, for what reason we know not, took no advantages of these disorders, but now entered into a truce with Sultan Hassen Chan for the space of four years; Cuttub Chan and Sittab Chan being interchangeably released.

Beloli
marches
against
Mahummud,
who is assassinated.

Beloli returned towards Shumsehab, whither Bir-Singh, the son of Rai Partab, came to pay his compliments. But as his father had taken a standard and a pair of drums formerly from Deria Chan in an action, that base man thought to wipe off that dishonour by assassinating Bir-Singhi. Cuttub Chan, the son of Hassen Chan, Mubariz Chan, and Rai Partab, differing with the cruel traitor about this murder, were obliged to fly to Sultan Hassen. Beloli, after these transactions, returned to Delhi.

Treachery of
Diria Chan.

But, upon account of the rebellion of the viceroy of Moulton, and the disorders in Punjaab, he marched towards that quarter. Upon his way, he heard that Sultan Hassen Shirki was advancing, in his absence, with a great army, to take Delhi. He therefore, through necessity, returned, and leaving Delhi in charge of Cuttub Chan and Chan Jehan, he went out to meet the enemy. The two armies having met at the village of Chundwar, hostilities continued without intermission for seven days. A peace was at length patched up for the term of three years.

Beloli
marches
against Sultan
Hassen.

A peace.

At the expiration of this truce, Sultan Hassen invested Attava, took it, and drew over Ahmed Chan of Mewat, and Rustum Chan of Koli, to his interest, while Ahmed Chan of Selwan, the governor of Biana, struck money, and read the chutba in his name. Hassen, with one hundred thousand horse and a thousand elephants, marched from Attava towards Delhi; and Sultan Beloli, no ways

Hassen
marches to-
wards Delhi.
intimidated

A. D. 1478. intimidated by that great force, marched out boldly to meet him.
Hig. 883.

The two armies having advanced to Battevara, encamped for some time in sight of each other, and after some skirmishes, in which there was no superiority of advantage on either side, they again struck up a peace.

A peace.

But this pacification was not permanent. Sultan Hassein advanced again towards Delhi some months after, and was opposed at the village of Sinkar, and obliged to depart upon peaceable terms.

Hassein advances towards Delhi.

Much about this time, the mother of Sultan Hassein, Bibi Raja, died at Attava, and the Raja of Gualier and Cuttub Chan Lodi, went to console him upon that occasion. When in discourse, Cuttub Chan perceived that Hassein Chan was a bitter enemy of Beloli, he began to flatter him after this manner:—Beloli is one of your dependants, and cannot think of contending long with you. If I do not put you in possession of Delhi, look on my word as nothing. He then, with much art, got leave to depart from Hassein's court, and returned to Delhi, and there he told to Sultan Beloli that he had escaped with a great deal of difficulty from the hands of Sultan Hassein, who was meditating a fresh war against him.

Sultan Alla dies.

About this time Sultan Alla ul Dien * died at Budaoon, upon which Sultan Hassein went to settle matters at Budaoon, and, after the funeral ceremonies were over, he took that country from the children of Alla. Marching from thence to Simbol, he imprisoned Mubarick Chan, governor of that province, then marching towards Delhi, in the year eight hundred and eighty three, he crossed the river Jumna near Gutteruitch. Sultan Beloli, who was at Sirhind, upon receiving intelligence of this invasion, returned with all expedition to save his capital. Several flight actions ensued, in which Sultan Hassein had, in general, the advantage.

Hassein marches to Delhi.

* The abdicated emperor.

Cuttub Chan dispatched a person to Hassein, informing him, that Sultan Beloli was ready to relinquish all the countries beyond the Ganges, upon condition he should leave him in possession of all the provinces on this side of that river. These terms being accepted, they reversed their hostile spears, and Sultan Hassein marched homeward. But Sultan Beloli, in a perfidious manner, broke the peace, and pursuing Hassein, attacked him upon his march, killing a great number, and taking forty omrahs prisoners, besides part of his treasure and equipage. Beloli pursued his victory, and took several districts belonging to Sultan Hassein, such as Campul, Pattiali, Shumseabad, Sickite, Marhera, Sittali, and Koli, appointing agents to manage them under him. But when he had pursued Hassein as far as Arumbidger, the latter stood his ground, and engaged Beloli. The victory being dubious, a peace was patched up between them, the village of Doupamou being settled as the boundary between the empires. After this pacification, Sultan Hassein proceeded to Raberi, and Sultan Beloli returned to Delhi.

A. D. 1478.
Hig. 883.

Beloli's perfidy.

Sultan Hassein could not, however, forget the perfidy of Beloli. He recruited his army, and some time after marched against him, and met him at the village of Sinhar, when an obstinate battle ensued, in which Sultan Hassein was defeated, and lost all his treasure and baggage; which, together with an addition of reputation, greatly promoted the affairs of Beloli. Sultan Hassein having retreated to Raberi, he was followed thither by Beloli, and upon standing a second engagement, he was again totally defeated. After the battle, he retreated towards Gualier; the raja of Gualier brought him some lacks of rupees, elephants, horses, camels, and a fine set of camp equipage, and accompanied him to Calpie.

Sultan Beloli went, in the mean time, to Attava, where he besieged Ibrahim Chan, the brother of Sultan Hassein, and took the place by capitulation. He, however, generously made him a present of

A. D. 1478.
Hig. 883.

of the fort, and proceeded to Calpie; Sultan Hassein met him upon the banks of the river, where they remained for some months. But Rai Muluck Chand of Buxar, coming over to Sultan Beloli, shewed him a passable ford in the river, by which he crossed, and attacking Sultan Hassein, defeated him, and drove him to Jionpoor, upon which Sultan Beloli turned off to the left towards Kinnoge. Sultan Hassein again met him near that city, but he was once more defeated with great slaughter. His regalia and equipage were taken, and also the chief lady of his seraglio, Bibi Conzah, the daughter of Sultan Alla ul Dien, who was treated with great respect. Sultan Beloli returned, after this victory, to Delhi.

Having recruited and regulated his army, he advanced the spear of hostility again towards Jionpoor. He conquered that country, and gave it to Mubarick Chan Lohani, leaving Cuttub Chan Lodi, Chan Jehan, and other omrahs, at Migouli, to secure his conquests. He himself went to Budaoon, where he soon after heard of Cuttub Chan's death. Chan Jehan, Mubarick Chan, and other omrahs, though they kept up the appearance of fidelity, were, after the death of Cuttub, concerting measures to throw off the sultan's yoke.

Beloli being apprized of their intentions, marched towards Jionpoor, and drove away Hassein, who had made an attempt to recover it, and placed Barbee Shaw, one of his own sons, upon the throne of Jionpoor. He himself returned to Calpie, which he took, and gave to his grandson, Azim Hamaioon Ben Baizied. He directed then his march to Dolepore, raising a tribute upon the raja of that place, who began to rank himself among Beloli's subjects. The sultan went from thence to a place in the districts of Rintimpore, which he plundered, and soon after returned to Delhi.

Beloli, being
old and in-
firm, divides
his domini-
ons among
his sons.

Beloli being now extremely old, and infirmities beginning daily to increase upon him, he divided his dominions among his sons, giving
Jionpoor

Jionpoor to Barbeck Shaw ; Kurrah and Manikpore, to Mubarick Chan ; Byrage, to his nephew Shech Mahummud, famous by the name of Kalla Par, or the Black Mountain ; Lucknore and Calpee, to Azim Humaioon, whose father, Baezid, was assassinated a little before by his own servant ; Budaoon to Chan Jehan, one of his old omrahs, and a relation ; and Delhi, with several countries between the two rivers, to his son Nizam Chan, known afterwards by the name of Sultan Secunder, whom he appointed his successor in the imperial dignity.

A. D. 1488.
Hig. 894.

Some time after this division the sultan proceeded to Gualier, and raising a tribute of eighty lacks of rupees from the raja of that place, came to Attava, from whence he expelled Sickit Sing, and then turned his face towards Delhi. Falling sick upon his march, many of the omrahs were desirous that he should alter his former will, with respect to the succession, which, they said, was the undoubted right of Azim Humaioon, his grandson. The sultana, upon this, wrote to her son, Nizam Chan, who, having heard of his father's illness, was setting out from Delhi, by no means to come, otherwise he might be imprisoned by the omrahs : At the same time the sultan, by the advice of some omrahs, ordered public letters to be sent him, to hasten him to camp, that he might see him before his death. Nizam Chan was greatly perplexed how to act upon this nice occasion. He, at length, was advised by Cuttuluk Chan, the vizier of Sultan Hassein Shirki, who was then prisoner at Delhi, to pitch his tents without the city, and to advance by very slow marches. In the mean time, the king's disease overcame him, and he died at Malauli, in the pergunnah of Sikite, in the year eight hundred and ninety four, having reigned thirty eight years, eight months, and seven days.

He falls sick.

Dies.

Beloli was, for those days, esteemed a virtuous and mild prince, executing justice to the utmost of his knowledge, and treating his courtiers rather as his companions than his subjects. When he

His character.

A. D. 1488.
Hig. 894.

came to the empire, he divided the treasure among his friends, and could be seldom prevailed upon to mount the throne, saying, "That it was enough for him, that the world knew he was king, without his making a vain parade of royalty." He was extremely temperate in his diet, and seldom eat at home. Though a man of no great literature himself, he was fond of the company of learned men, whom he rewarded according to their merit. He had given so many proofs of personal bravery, that none could doubt it; at the same time, he was often cautious to excess, never chusing to trust much to chance, and delighting greatly in negotiation.

SECTION IX.

The reign of Sultan SECUNDER BEN SULTAN BELOLI.

A. D. 1488.
Hig. 894.

The omrahs
variously
inclined.

Debate about
a successor to
Beloli.

THE omrahs, immediately upon the death of Beloli, formed themselves into a council, in which some appeared to be attached to the interest of Azim Humaioon, some to Barbeck, the eldest son of the sultan then living, and some to Secunder, in consequence of his father's will. When they were debating, the mother of Secunder, whose name was Rana, originally a goldsmith's daughter, but raised to the sultan's bed, by the fame of her beauty, came behind the curtain, in the great tent, and made a speech to the omrahs, in favor of her son. Upon which Isah Chan, the nephew of Beloli, answered her, in a disrespectful manner, and concluded with saying, that a goldsmith's offspring was not qualified to hold the empire.

Firmilli's
boldness.

Chan Chanan Firmilli, a stout daring man, took him up, and told him, That the sultan was yet scarce cold in his hearse, and that the man who threw such ungenerous aspersions upon his family ought

to

to be despised. Isah Chan replied, That silence would better become him, who was only a servant of the state. Upon which the other rose up, in a rage, and told him, he was, indeed, a servant of Sultan Secunder, and would maintain his right against all who durst oppose it. He rushed out of the council, followed by all his party, and carried off the body of the deceased king to Jellali, where he was met by Sultan Secunder, who there ascended his father's throne.

A. D. 1488.
Hig. 894.

Secunder
mounts the
throne.

Secunder sending the corpse of his father to Delhi, marched against Isah Chan, and having defeated him, afterwards forgave his offence. Returning then to Delhi, he, in the manner of his father, conferred favors upon all his kindred.

Defeats and
pardons Isah
Chan.

Secunder had, at this time, six sons, Ibrahim Chan, Jellâl Chan, Ishmaiel Chan, Haffein Chan, Mahmood Chan, and Shech Azim Humaioon; and likewise fifty three omrahs of distinction in his service.

Some time after his accession, Secunder marched towards Roberi, and besieged his own brother, Allum Chan, in the fort of Chundwar, for some days. Allum evacuated the place, and fled to Isah Chan Lodi, at Pattiali. Sultan Secunder gave Roberi to Chan Chanan, went, in person, to Attava, and calling Allum Chan, his brother, to court, gave him possession of that country. He then advanced to Pattiali, engaged Isah Chan, wounded, and defeated him; after which Isah Chan threw himself upon Secunder's mercy, was pardoned, and soon after died of his wound.

Marches
against his
brother
Allum.

Again defeats
Isah Chan.

Sultan Secunder, about that time, sent a trusty person to Barbeck Shaw, his brother, king of Jionpoor, desiring he would do him homage, and order his name to be read first in the chutba all over his dominions. Barbeck rejected these proposals, and Secunder marched against him. Barbeck Shaw and Calla Par came out in order of battle.

Marches
against his
brother Bar-
beck.

A. D. 1488.
Hig. 894.

His policy.

battle to meet him. An action ensued, in which Calla Par, charging too far among the troops of Delhi, was taken prisoner. Sultan Secunder, upon seeing him, alighted from his horse, and embraced him, saying, that he esteemed him as his father, and begged he would look upon him as his son.

Barbeck
defeated,

Calla Par, confounded at this honor done him, replied, that, except his life, he had nothing to make a recompence for such kindness, desiring to get a horse, that he might show himself not wholly unworthy of his favor. He was accordingly mounted, and he perfidiously sold his honor for a compliment, turning his sword against Barbeck Shaw; which circumstance, in some measure, contributed to the success of Secunder. The troops of Barbeck seeing Calla Par charging them, imagined that all his forces were also gone over to the enemy, and betook themselves to flight. Barbeck Shaw did all that bravery could perform, but finding himself deserted, he fled to Budaoon, while Mubarick Chan, his son, was taken prisoner.

and taken;
used with
kindness and
respect.

Sultan Secunder pursuing him close, invested Barbeck Shaw in Budaoon, who, soon driven to distress, capitulated, and was received with great kindness and respect. The sultan carried Barbeck with him to Jionpoor; but as Sultan Hassein Shirki was still a powerful prince in Behar, he thought Barbeck would be the properest person to check him, and accordingly confirmed him as before in the government of Jionpoor; leaving, however, some trusty friends at his court, upon whom he bestowed jagiers and pergunnahs, to keep them firm in his own interest.

Secunder
marches to
Calpie.

Secunder returning to Calpie, took the place from Azim Humai-oon, and gave it to Mahmood Chan Lodi. He marched from thence to Kurrah, and the governor, Talar Chan, paying him homage, he confirmed him in his office, and turning towards the fort of Gualier, he

he sent Chaja Mahummud with an honorary dress to Raja Maan, who
 dispatched his nephew with presents to accompany the king to Biana.

A. D. 1490.
 Hig. 896.

Sultan Sherrif met the emperor, upon friendly terms, at Biana. The king ordered him to give up Biana, and he would appoint him governor of Tellasar, Chandwar, Marrara, and Sekite. Sherrif took Omar Chan Serwani with him to put him in possession of the fort, but when he had got within the walls, he shut the gates upon Omar Chan, and prepared to defend himself.

Sultan Sherrif refuses to give up Biana.

The sultan despairing of reducing the place, went to Agra, where Hybut Chan Serwani, who held that fort for Sultan Sherrif, shut the gates against him, contrary to his expectation. This insult enraged the sultan to that degree, that he determined, let the event be what it would, to reduce Sultan Sherrif to his obedience. He accordingly, leaving part of his army to besiege Agra, returned himself, with the utmost expedition, towards Biana, which he immediately besieged. The siege proved long and bloody; however, Sultan Sherrif, in the end, was obliged to capitulate, in the year eight hundred and ninety seven, when that government was given to Chan Chanan Firmilli.

Secunder marches to Agra.

Reduces Biana,

The fort of Agra falling, about the same time, into the sultan's hands, he returned to Delhi, where, in a few days, he received advices of an insurrection at Jionpoor, among the zemindars, to the number of one hundred thousand horse and foot; and that they had already slain Sheri Chan, the brother of Mubarick Chan. Mubarick Chan himself being driven from Kurrah, was taken prisoner by Rai Bhede, of Battea, and Barbeck Shaw obliged to go to Barage, to solicit the assistance of Calla Par; so that the sultan, after twenty two days respite at Delhi, was under the necessity of marching towards Jionpoor. When he arrived at Dilmow, he was joined by Barbeck Shaw; and Rai Bhede hearing of the sultan's approach, released Mubarick,

and Agra.
 An insurrection at Jionpoor.

A. D. 1491. Mubarick Chan, and the zemindars dispersed themselves. The sul-
 Hig. 897. tan carried Barbeck Shaw to Jionpoor, and having left him there to
 The insur- punish the offenders, he spent a month in hunting about Oud.
 gents disperse upon Secun-
 der's ap-
 proach.

At Oud intelligence was brought to Secunder, that the zemindars
 They rise a had risen again, and besieged Barbeck Shaw, in Jionpoor. He or-
 second time. dered immediately that Calla Par and Azim Humaioon Serwani,
 and Chan Chanan Lowani, by the way of Oud, and Mubarick Chan,
 Barbeck Shaw by the way of Kurrah, should march against them, and send Bar-
 imprisoned. beck Shaw prisoner to the presence. His orders were accordingly
 executed, and Barbeck was given in charge to Hybut Chan and
 Omar Chan Serwani, being esteemed an improper person for the
 government, and too dangerous to be trusted with his liberty.

The sultan, after these transactions, marched towards Chinari,
 which was held for Sultan Hassein Shirki; upon his approach, the
 garrison made a sally, and were driven back into the fort; but the
 sultan, upon reconnoitring the place, looked upon it as almost im-
 pregnable, and immediately left it, marching his army towards Bat-
 tea. Rai Bhede came out of Battea, and paid him homage, upon
 Rai Bhede which the king confirmed him in his dominions, and returned to
 submits. Areil, ordering Rai Bhede to accompany him; but Rai Bhede sus-
 pecting some design against himself, left all his retinue, and deserted
 the camp alone. The sultan sent him back his effects. He, how-
 ever, permitted his troops to plunder the country of Areil, and cross-
 ing the river, by the way of Kurrah, went to Dilmow, where he
 married the widow of Sheri Chan.

From Dilmow the sultan marched to Shumseabad, where he re-
 mained six months, and then went to Simbol; but returning from
 thence, in a few days, to Shumseabad, he plundered the town of
 Mudeo-makil, where a band of banditti resided. Secunder spent
 the rainy season at Shumseabad.

In

In the year nine hundred, the sultan made another campaign to-
wards Battea, defeating Bir Singh, the son of Rai Bhede, at Car-
rangatti, who fled to Battea; but, upon the sultan's approach, Rai
Bhede took the route of Sirkutch, and died upon his march. The
sultan, after this victory, proceeded to Sezdewar; but provisions
growing scarce in his camp, he was obliged to return to Jionpoor,
having, in this expedition, lost a great part of his cavalry by fa-
tigue, bad roads, and the want of forage.

A. D. 1494.
Hig. 900.
Secunder
marches
against
Battea.

Lickim Chund, the son of Rai Bhede, and other zemindars, wrote
to Sultan Hassein, of Bekâr, that the cavalry of Secunder was now in a
wretched condition, and that it was an excellent opportunity for him
to take satisfaction for his former defeats. This induced Sultan
Hassein to put his army in motion, and march directly against Sul-
tan Secunder. Secunder hearing of his intentions, put his army
upon the best footing possible, and crossed the Ganges to meet him,
which he did eighteen crores from Benaris: An obstinate battle was
fought, in which Sultan Hassein was defeated, and fled to Battea.

Hassein sets
upon Secun-
der,

but is over-
thrown.

Sultan Secunder leaving his camp with a proper guard, pursued
the fugitives for three days, with a party of horse; but hearing Sul-
tan Hassein was gone to Behar, he stopped, and upon the ninth day
returned to his camp. He then marched with his whole army to-
wards Behar, but upon his approach, Sultan Hassein left Malleck
Cundu to guard the city, and fled himself to Calgaw, in the domi-
nions of Lucknouti *. Sultan Alla ul Dien, king of Bengal, called
Hassein to his court, and treated him with the greatest respect dur-
ing the remainder of his days, which he passed with him; so that
with Hassein the royal line of Jionpoor was extinguished.

Secunder
marches to
Behar.

Sultan Secunder, from his camp at Deopar, sent a division of
his army against Malleck Cundu, who evacuated the city and fled,

Behar eva-
cuated and
taken.

* Bengal.

leaving

A. D. 1494.
Hig. 900.
Secunder
marches to
Bengal.

leaving the whole country open to the enemy. The sultan left Mohabut Chan with a force in Behar, and marched towards Turhat, the raja of which submitted himself to his clemency, and laying down a large sum, agreed to pay an annual tribute. To collect the tribute, the sultan left Mubarick Chan, and returned to Derveshpoor, and from thence went to visit the tomb of Shech Sherrif at Behar, and distributed presents to the dirveshes who lived there upon the charity of pilgrims.

A peace con-
cluded be-
tween Secun-
der and Alla.

Secunder having regulated his army, marched towards Bengal, but when he had reached Cuttlishpoor, Sultan Alla ul Dien sent Danial his son to oppose him. Sultan Secunder detached Zere Zichme, one of his generals, to acquaint him, that he had no intention to subdue the country, but as their dominions now bordered upon each other, it became necessary to know upon what footing he must esteem Alla, before he left that country. The king of Bengal gladly accepted of a peace, wherein it was stipulated, that neither monarch should permit any of their governors to invade each other's dominions, and that neither of them should give protection to the other's enemies.

A dearth in
Hindostan.

The sultan returned to Dirveshpoor. Mubarick Chan at that time dying, the care of Turhat was given to Azim Humaioon, the son of Chan Jehan, and Behar was bestowed upon Deria Chan, the son of Mubarick. There happened, at this time, a great dearth in the country, but all duties being taken off by the sultan's order, that calamity was in a great measure mitigated. Secunder, in the mean time, reducing the districts of Sarin, which were then in the hands of some zemindars, gave the lands in jagiers to some of his omrahs; then returning by the way of Movilligur to Jionpoor, he resided there six months.

The

The sultan having asked the daughter of Sal Bahin, Raja of Battea, in marriage, the father refused to comply with his request. A. D. 1498. Hig. 904. Secunder, to revenge this affront, put his army in motion against the Raja, in the year nine hundred and four, and marching to Battea, sacked it. Battea taken and destroyed. After having ravaged the country round Bandugur, he returned to Jionpoor, where he spent some time, in the civil regulations of the empire.

About this time, the accounts of Mubarick Chan Lodi being inspected for the time of his administration in Jionpoor, and a great ballance being found due to the royal revenue, the king ordered it to be levied upon him. Mubarick Chan Lodi's accounts inspected. This severity greatly disgusted the omrahs, among whom Mubarick Chan was very much esteemed. The omrahs dissatisfied. A faction accordingly arose in the army, which first discovered itself by private quarrels. For, one day, as the sultan and his court were playing a party at club and ball, on horseback, the club of Hybut Chan, by accident, or design, fractured the scull of one Soliman. Chizer, the brother of Soliman, came up, and returned the compliment to Hybut Chan; so that, in a few minutes, the parties on either side, Quarrels in the camp. joined in the quarrel, and the whole field was in one uproar and confusion.

The sultan, fearing a conspiracy, fled to the palace, but nothing of that kind transpiring, he made another party at the same game, The sultan suspects a conspiracy. some days thereafter, and a quarrel of the same nature ensued, for which Shumse Chan, who began it, was disgraced, and bastinadoed. But the sultan would not be satisfied but that there was some plot in agitation, and therefore ordered his guards to be selected, and to keep upon the watch.

The king's jealousies were not groundless; for at that time, Hybut Chan, and two other chiefs, had proposed to Fatti Chan, the king's brother, to cut off the sultan, who, they said, was now disliked by A plot discovered.

A. D. 1499. the generality of the omrahs, and to place Fatti upon the throne.
Hig. 905.

Fatti Chan desiring some time to consider of it, disclosed the secret to Sheeh Cabuli, and to his own mother, who advised him against so horrid an action; and, lest the affair should, by any other means, transpire, she desired him to acquaint the sultan of their proposal. This he did accordingly, and the conspirators were detached upon different services, where they were put to death by the sultan's orders.

The sultan
retires for
four years to
Simbol.

Secunder, in the year nine hundred and five, marched to Simbol, where he spent four years in pleasure, and in transacting civil affairs. But hearing of some bad administration of Afghir, the governor of Delhi, he sent an order to Chawass Chan, governor of Matchiwarri, to march to Delhi, and send Afghir prisoner to court. The governor receiving advice of this order, left Delhi, and threw himself at the sultan's feet, but not being able to form any excuse for his bad practices, he was ordered into confinement.

A remarkable
instance
of religious
persecution.

At this time there happened a remarkable instance of religious zeal and persecution. A Brahmin, whose name was Bhodin, upon being abused by a Mahomedan, for his idolatry, happened to make a very moderate, but what proved to him a fatal reply. The reply was this: "That he esteemed the same God to be the object of all worship, and, therefore, believed the Mahomedan and Hindoo religions to be equally good." The bigotted Mahomedan, for what he thought the impiety of this answer, summoned the Brahmin immediately before the casy. The affair making some noise, by the various opinions of the public, the king called together all the Mahomedan doctors of fame in the empire, to decide the cause. After many long disputes, the doctors brought in their verdict, that the Brahmin should be forced to turn Mahomedan, or be put to death. The Brahmin, however charitable he might have been to all opinions upon religion, refused to apostatize, and

and accordingly died a martyr to his faith; which reflects no small A. D. 1501.
dishonor upon the sultan and his inquisitors. Hig. 907.

When Chawafs Chan entered Delhi, he found an order from the emperor to proceed immediately to court, with which he instantly complied. At the same time, Seid Chan Sirwani came from Lahore, who was a man of a very factious disposition, and commenced some treasonable projects, for which he, Tattar Chan, and Mahummud Shaw, were banished to Guzerat. Some factious omrahs banished.

In the nine hundred and seventh of the Higera, Rai Man Sing, of Gualier, sent Nehal to the king with rich presents; but as this ambassador talked in too high a strain, the emperor ordered him to depart, and declared war against his master. But he was prevented from the execution of his purpose, for some time, by the death of Chan Chanan Firmilli, governor of Biana, and by those disturbances in that province, which succeeded his death. The government of Biana having devolved upon Ameid Soliman, the son of Chan Chanan, who was yet too young and unexperienced for such a charge, the king gave that appointment to Chawafs Chan. Sifdir Chan was sent with a force to reduce Agra, which belonged to the province of Biana, and had then revolted; another detachment being sent, at the same time, to reduce the fort of Dolipoor, which was in the possession of Raja Benaecdeo, who had begun to make warlike preparations. Here Chaja Bein, a warrior of great fame, fell by the sword, which so irritated the sultan, who had a great esteem for him, that he marched himself against that place. Upon his approach Rai Benaecdeo left some friends in the fort, and fled towards Gualier, but the garrison, the next night, evacuated the place, and left the sultan to take possession of it. Secunder's designs against Gualier. Disturbances in Biana.

He tarried there about a month, and then marched to Gualier. The raja of which place, changing his haughty stile, now humbly

Secunder marches to Gualier.

A. D. 1504.
Hig. 910.

sued for peace, sending him Seid Chan, Baboo Chan, Rai Giniffi, and others, who had, at different times, fled from the sultan, and taken protection under him. At the same time, he sent his own son, Bickermagit, with presents, who had the address to procure peace.

Makes Agra
the royal re-
sidence.

The sultan returned to Dolipoor, which he again bestowed upon Rai Benaecdeo; then marching to Agra, he, for the first time, made that city imperial, by fixing his residence there, and abandoning the city of Delhi. Here he remained during the rains, and, in the year nine hundred and ten, marched towards Munderael, which he took, and destroyed the Hindoo temples, ordering mosques to be built in their stead. Secunder returning to Dolipoor, removed the raja from his office, and gave it to Shech Kimir ul Dien. He passed from thence to Agra, giving his omrahs leave to return to their respective estates.

A. D. 1505.
Hig. 911.
An earth-
quake at
Agra.

In the following year, upon Sunday the third of Siffer, there was a violent earthquake in Agra, so that the mountains shook on their broad bases, and every lofty building was levelled with the ground, some thousands being buried in the ruins. The sultan, in the same year, moved towards Gualier, and stopped by the way some time at Dolipoor, where he left his family, and, with an unincumbered army of horse, proceeded to the hills, to plunder some Hindoo rajas, from whom he took great spoils, and ravaged their peaceful habitations. Just as the sultan was passing by the town of Javer, in the dominions of the raja of Gualier, he was attacked by a resolute body of men, who had laid in ambush for him; but, by the bravery of Awid Chan and Ahmed Chan, the sons of Chan Jehan, the Hindoos were defeated, and a great number of rajaputs put to the sword.

The

The sultan returned to Agra; and, in the year nine hundred and twelve, he went towards the fort of Awintgur; and, as he had def-
 paired of reducing Gualier, he bent his whole strength to the re-
 duction of this place. It was accordingly, in a short time, taken,
 and all the rajaput garrison put to the sword, the temples destroyed,
 and mosques ordered to be built in their places. This government
 was conferred upon Bickin, the son of Mujahid Chan, when some
 envious persons gave the king information that Mujahid Chan had
 taken a bribe from the raja of Awintgur, when they were marching
 against him, in order to divert the king from that resolution. This
 being proved, Mujahid Chan was imprisoned at Dolipoor; after
 which the king, returning towards Agra, on the way lost eight
 hundred men, in one day, for want of water.

A. D. 1506.
 Hig. 912.
 Secunder be-
 sieges Awint-
 gur, which is
 taken.

The sultan, eyeing from his march the ruins of Agra, moved
 towards Narvar, a strong fort, in the district of Malava, then in the
 possession of the Hindoos. He ordered Jellal Chan, governor of
 Calpie, to advance before him, and invest the place, which was ac-
 cordingly done. When the sultan arrived before Narvar, Jellal
 Chan drew up his army, out of respect, that the king might review
 them as he passed. This circumstance proved very hurtful to Jellal,
 for, from that time, the king became jealous of his power, and
 determined to ruin him.

Secunder
 marches
 against Nar-
 var,

The sultan surrounded this place, which was eight crores in cir-
 cumference, and began to carry on the siege. The siege was now
 protracted eight months, when the sultan received intelligence, that
 a treasonable correspondence was carried on between some of his
 omrahs and the garrison, for which Jellal Chan and Sheri Chan
 were imprisoned in the fort of Awintgur. The garrison, soon after,
 was obliged to capitulate, for want of provisions, and the king re-
 mained, for the space of six months, at Narvar, breaking down
 temples,

which he
 takes.

A. D. 1509. temples, and building mosques. He there also established a kind
 Hig. 915. of monastery, which he filled with divines and learned men.

Shah ul Dien, the son of Nasir ul Dien, king of Malava, being at this time discontented with his father, proposed to meet Secunder. The sultan immediately sent him a dress, and promised to support him in the government of Chinderi, against the power of his father. But circumstances so fell out, that it became unnecessary to take that unnatural step.

The sultan, in the month of Shuban, nine hundred and fourteen, marched from Narvar; but after he had advanced to the river, he began to consider that it would be proper to surround that fortress with another wall. He therefore ordered that work to be immediately begun, and then he himself took the rout of Lohar. At that place he bestowed Calpie, in jagier, upon Niamut Chatoon, the wife of Cuttub Chan Lodi, and daughter of the prince Jellâl Chan. He then directed his march towards the capital, and arriving at Hitgat, sent a detachment against some rebels in that country, and destroyed all their habitations, placing small garrisons at proper distances to overawe them. About this time he received advices, that Ahmed Chan, the son of Mubarick Chan Lodi, governor of Lucknore, had turned idolater; upon which orders were dispatched to send him prisoner to court, and that his second brother, Sud Chan, should take the administration of affairs in his stead.

In the year nine hundred and fifteen, the king marched to Doli-poor, and ordered caravanseras to be built at every stage. Mahummud Chan Nagori having defeated Ali Chan and Abu Bicker, who had conspired against him, they fled to the sultan for protection. Mahummud Chan, fearing they would bring the sultan against him, sent presents by way of prevention, and ordered the chutba to be read

read in Secunder's name. The sultan, pleased with his submission, sent him a dress of confirmation, and returned to Agra.

A. D. 1509.
Hig. 915.
The sultan
returns to-
wards Agra.

He spent some months there in building, making spacious gardens, and in hunting, then returned to Dolipoor, ordering Miah Soliman, the son of Chan Chanan, to succour Hussen Chan. Soliman very imprudently told the king, that he could not prevail upon himself to leave the presence. This expression threw the sultan into a violent rage, and he forthwith ordered him from his service and camp by next morning at day-light, or that otherwise all his effects should be given to the soldiers as public plunder.

Secunder's
transactions
at Dolipoor.

Much about this time, Bogit Chan, governor of Chinderi, who held that place of the king of Malava, seeing the weakness of his own prince, turned his face to Sultan Secunder. That monarch sent Amad ul Muluck to support Bogit in his rebellion. He soon after returned to Agra, and issued a proclamation bearing the submission of Bogit Chan, and his own consequent right to that country. He sent more troops and omrahs to Chinderi, who entirely settled it as an appendage of the empire. Bogit Chan found matters carried on in his government in such a manner, that he was constrained to resign his office, and come to court.

Reduces
Chinderi.

After this, we find no transactions worthy of memory in the empire, till the year nine hundred and twenty two. Ali Chan Nagori, suba of Suifuper, in that year prevailed upon Dowlat Chan, governor of Rintimpore, which he then held of Malava, to deliver the fort to Sultan Secunder, if that monarch should come in person to take possession of it. The sultan, with great joy, closed with the proposal, and set out towards Biana, to which place the governor of Rintimpore came to meet him, and was graciously received. But Ali Chan, who had been disappointed in some favors which he expected for bringing this matter to bear, resolved still to prevent the

Disappointed
in his designs
upon Rin-
timpore.

accom-

A. D. 1516.
Hig. 922.

Returns to
Agra.

Dies.

accomplishment of it. He had so much influence upon the governor, that he made him retract his promise about giving up the fort, though he had put himself in the sultan's power. The sultan having found out the cause of this change, disgraced Ali Chan, and deprived him of his government, but was obliged to return to Agra without succeeding in his design upon Rintimpore, setting the governor at liberty, notwithstanding he had so egregiously deceived him.

To Agra the sultan summoned all the distant omrahs together, with an intention to reduce Gualier. But he was, in the midst of his preparations, in the year nine hundred and twenty three, taken ill of a quinsy, of which he died, having reigned, with great reputation and ability, twenty eight years and five months.

S E C T I O N X.

The reign of SULTAN IBRAHIM BEN SULTAN SECUNDER.

Sultan Ibrahim mounts the throne.

Proud and arrogant.

A conspiracy.

SULTAN Secunder dying at Agra, his son Ibrahim immediately succeeded him in the throne. This prince, contrary to the manners and policy of his father and grandfather, behaved himself with insupportable pride and arrogance to his friends and family. One foolish expression of his was, that king's had no relations, but that every body should be the slaves of royalty. The omrahs, who were always before honored with a seat in the presence, were now constrained to stand by the throne, with their hands crossed before them. They were so much disgusted with this insolence, that they privately became his enemies.

A conspiracy therefore was formed, in which it was agreed to leave Ibrahim in possession of Delhi, and a few dependent provinces, and

and to place the prince Jellal Chan, his brother, upon the throne of Jionpoor. Jellal Chan marched from Calpie, by the aid and advice of the disaffected omrahs, and mounted the throne of Jionpoor. He appointed Fatte Chan his visier, who brought over all the omrahs of these parts to his interest.

A. D. 1516.
Hig. 922.
The empire
divided.

Chan Jehan Lohani came at that time from Beri, to congratulate Sultan Ibrahim upon his accession, and, in a very high strain, began to blame the omrahs for dividing the empire, which, he said, would be attended with many evil consequences. The omrahs, sensible of the impropriety of their conduct, determined, as Jellal Chan could not yet be well established, to call him back, and so divest him of his new-assumed royalty. They accordingly sent Hybut Chan, with deceptious letters, to recal him, saying, that there was a scheme for him in agitation, and that it was necessary he should speedily come to support it.

Designs to
reunite it.

But Hybut Chan having over-acted his part, by flattery and importunity, Jellal Chan suspected a plot against himself, and wrote them a genteel excuse. They, however, not discovering his jealousy, sent Shah Zadda Mahummud Firmilli, Malleck Ismaiel Selwani, Cafi Mudgeid ul Dien Hadjib, and Siffil Hadjib, to enforce the request of Hybut Chan; but Jellal took no notice of their solicitations or intrigues.

The omrahs
endeavour
in vain to
inveigle Jel-
lal from Jion-
poor.

Sultan Ibrahim, and his omrahs, finding that these baits would not take with Jellal, issued a proclamation, declaring all the omrahs, who should join him, traitors to the state; at the same time sending presents and envoys to all the principal officers in those parts. These means had the desired effect, and the omrahs, on the side of Jellal, were brought over from his interest, by degrees.

A. D. 1517.
Hig. 923.
Jellal has re-
course to
arms.

Is joined by
Azim Hu-
maioon,

who deserts
him.

Jellal
marches to
Agra.

Deceived by
Malleck
Adam,

The affairs of Jellal Chan declining in this manner, he saw that nothing but a resolute attempt could retrieve them. He accordingly marching to Calpie, secured his family in that fort; and, collecting all his strength, assumed the title of Sultan Jellal ul Dien, and was determined to try his fortune in the field. He sent, at the same time, a trusty ambassador to Azim Humaioon, who held Callinger for Sultan Ibrahim, and had a great army in pay, to beg his assistance. Azim was prevailed upon to join him; and a resolution was formed, first to settle the countries about Jionpoor, and afterwards to think of affairs of still greater moment. They accordingly marched, with all expedition, against Mubarick Chan Lodi, suba of Oud, whom they drove to Lucknore.

Sultan Ibrahim hearing of these transactions, marched his army to that quarter, sending his other brothers, in confinement, to Haffi, where he pensioned them for life. Upon his march towards Oud, he was informed that Azim Humaioon had deserted Jellal ul Dien, and was now upon his way to meet him, which gave him great joy. He sent some omrahs to escort him to his camp, where he was very favorably received. A number of other omrahs, of those parts, joined Ibrahim; and he dispatched the greatest part of his army, under the command of Azim Humaioon Lodi, against Jellal ul Dien. But before Azim could come up with Jellal, he threw a garrison into Calpie, and, with thirty thousand horse, gave him the slip, and marched directly towards Agra; while Azim Humaioon laid siege to Calpie.

Jellal ul Dien had it now in his power either to take possession of, or to plunder, the treasury. But he seems to have been perfectly infatuated. Malleck Adam, who was in the city with a small garrison, not only prevailed upon him to relinquish that advantage, but amused him with hopes of his brother's favor, till he sent him all his ensigns of royalty. Adam went so far as to promise to Jellal the

the government of Calpie, and other advantages, without having any powers of treating from the king. A. D. 1518.
Hig. 924.

Malleck Adam sent the whole to Ibrahim, and acquainted him of every particular. But the sultan having now taken Calpie, and the treaty being concluded without his authority, he took no notice of it, but marched against Jellal ul Dien, who, now deserted by his army for his pusillanimity, was obliged to fly to Gualier, and solicit the protection of the raja of that place. Ibrahim came to Agra, where he remained to regulate the affairs of the government, which, since the death of Secunder, had fallen into great confusion. Karim Daad Twa was sent to take charge of Delhi, and Shah Zadda Mungu to Chunderi. and flies to
Gualier.
Ibrahim re-
turns to Agra,

About this time, the king, without any apparent reason, conceived a disgust at Miah Boah, who was formerly visier to Secunder, and put him in chains, conferring at the same time great honours upon his son. He then formed a resolution of reducing Gualier, ordering Azim Humaioon to march from Kurrah against it, with thirty thousand horse, and three hundred elephants. Seven other omrahs, with armies, were sent to reinforce Azim. Sends an ar-
my against
Gualier.

Jellal Chan, who had taken refuge in Gualier, being intimidated, fled to the king of Malava. The imperial army arriving before Gualier, invested the place, and in a few days Raja Maan Singh, who was a prince of great valour and capacity, died, and his son Bickermagit succeeded him in the rajaship. After the siege had been carried on some months, the army of Ibrahim at length possessed themselves of an outwork at the foot of the hill, upon which the fort, called Badilgur, stood. They found in that place a Brazen Bull, which had been a long time worshiped there, and sent it to Agra; from whence it was afterwards conveyed to Delhi, and placed at the gate of Bagdat. Gualier be-
sieged.

A. D. 1519.
Hig. 925.

Jellal taken,

and assassi-
nated.

Ibrahim's
cruelty.

Gualier
taken.

The rebel-
lion of Islam
Chan.

The unfortunate Jellal, who had gone over to Sultan Mahmood of Malava, not being well received there, fled to the raja of Kurykatka, but was seized upon by the way, and sent prisoner to Ibrahim's camp. Ibrahim pretended to send him prisoner to Hassi, but gave private orders to assassinate him upon the way, which was accordingly done.—What are those charms in power, which could induce a man to shed the blood of a brother?

Nor was Ibrahim satisfied with the death of Jellal; he imbrued his hands in the blood of several omrahs of great distinction. He called Azim Humaioon Sirwani from Gualier, when just upon the point of taking the place, imprisoned him and his son Fatte Chan, turning out his other son Islam Chan from the subaship of Kurrah. But when Islam had heard of his father's and brother's imprisonment, and of his own disgrace, he erected the standard of rebellion, defeating Ahmed Chan who was sent to take his government.

The sultan having received advices of the reduction of Gualier, which had been for a hundred years in the hands of the Hindoos, he had leisure to turn all his power to suppress the rebellion at Kurrah. Azim Humaioon Lodi and Seid Chan, after the reduction of the place, were permitted to go to their jagiers at Lucknore; where, joining the interest of Islam Chan, they stirred up more disturbances.

Ahmed is
sent against
the rebels.

Ibrahim placing very little dependence upon the fidelity of the troops which he had near him, issued orders for those of the distant provinces to repair to his standards. He, in the mean time, conferred great favours upon Ahmed Chan, the brother of Azim Humaioon Lodi, and giving him the command of the army, sent him against Islam Chan. Ahmed having arrived in the environs of Kin-noge, Eckbal Chan, a dependent of Azim Humaioon Sirwani, rushed

rushed out from an ambush with five thousand horse, and having cut off a number of the imperial troops, made good his retreat. A. D. 1519.
Hig. 925.

The sultan was greatly exasperated against Ahmed, upon receiving intelligence of this defeat. He wrote to him not to expect his favor, if he did not quickly exterminate the rebels; at the same time, by way of precaution, sending another army to support him.

The rebels were now about forty thousand strong in cavalry, besides five hundred elephants, and a great body of infantry. When Ahmed Chan had received the reinforcement which we have mentioned, and the two armies came in fight of each other, Shech Raja Bochari, who was esteemed the first man for parts in that age, was desirous of bringing affairs to an amicable accommodation. Overtures being made, the rebels consented to dismiss their army, upon condition that Azim Humaioon should be set at liberty. They treat about a peace, Ibrahim would not hearken to these terms. He sent orders to Diria Chan Lohani, suba of Behar, to Nisir Chan Lohani, and Shech Zadda Mahummud Firmilli, to advance from that quarter, against the rebels. The insurgents foolishly permitted themselves to be amused till the armies from Behar joined. The treaty being then broke off, they were reduced either to fly or fight upon equal terms. which is broke off.

They resolved upon the latter, and accordingly drew up in order of battle. Urged on by despair and resentment, they did justice to valor, and were upon the point of defeating the imperialists, when Islam Chan was killed, and Seid Chan dismounted and taken. These unfortunate accidents discouraging the troops, they stopped short, and soon after turned their face to flight. Their dominions, treasure, and baggage fell at once into the hands of the king. The rebels overthrown.

Ibrahim

A. D. 1519.
Hig. 825.
Ibrahim's
tyranny and
cruelty.

Ibrahim now gave full scope to his hatred and resentment against the omrahs of Secunder, and many of them were barbarously put to death. Azim Humaioon Sirwani, Miah Boah, and others, who were in confinement, were, at the same time, assassinated, and fear and terror took possession of every heart. These cruelties and assassinations gave rise to another rebellion. Diria Chan Lohani, suba of Behar, Chan Jehan Lodi, and Miah Hassen Firmilli, turned their heads from the yoke of obedience. The sultan having received intelligence of this defection, sent a private order to the shechs of Chunderi, to take off Miah Hassen Firmilli, suba of that country, and these holy persons accordingly assassinated him in his bed. This fresh instance of Ibrahim's baseness and tyranny served only to create him more enemies.

Another rebellion.

Diria Chan, suba of Beria, died about this time, and his son of the same name, assumed the title of Sultan Mahummud, with all the ensigns of royalty. He was joined by all the discontented omrahs, and found himself at the head of a hundred thousand horse, with which he took possession of all the countries as far as Simbol, defeating the sultan's troops in repeated engagements.

Ghazi Chan Lodi came about this time with the army from Lahore, by the sultan's orders. But having heard of his tyrannies, by the way, he was apprehensive of danger to himself, and returned to his father, Dowlat Chan, at Lahore. Dowlat, seeing no safety but in extremes, revolted from the sultan, and solicited Baber, who then reigned in Cabul, to come to the conquest of Hindostan. The first thing, however, that Dowlat did, was to obtain from Sultan Baber, Alla ul Dien, the brother of Ibrahim, now in the service of Cabul. Supporting him, as a cover to his measures, with his whole force, he reduced the country as far as Delhi. Alla was joined by the omrahs of those parts, so that his army now consisted of upwards of forty thousand horse, with which he invested Delhi.

Ibrahim

Ibrahim resolved to march against him, but when he came within six crore of Alla ul Dien's army, he was surprized by that prince in the night. A confused and tumultuous fight was maintained to day-light, when Ibrahim found that he was deserted by some of his omrahs, who had joined Sultan Alla ul Dien. Sultan Ibrahim observing, in the morning, that the troops of Alla ul Dien were dispersed, in plundering his camp, rallied a number of his troops, and the greatest part of his elephants, returned to the attack, and drove him off the field, with great slaughter. Ibrahim entered Delhi in triumph, and Alla ul Dien, seeing no hopes of reducing it, retreated to Punjaab.

A. D. 1525.
Hig. 932.

In the year nine hundred and thirty two, Zehir ul Dien, Mahummud Baber drew his army against Ibrahim, as will be hereafter related at large, overthrew him in the field of Panniput, deprived him of his life and kingdom, and transferred the empire to the family of Timur. Sultan Ibrahim reigned twenty years.

SECTION XI.

The history of ZEHIR UL DIEN MAHUMMUD BABER, before his invasion of Hindostan.

ABU SEID MIRZA dying in Ayrack *, left eleven sons, Of the family of Baber.
Mirza Sultan Ahmed, Mirza Sultan Mahmood, Mirza Sultan Mahummud, Mirza Sharoch, Mirza Aligh Beg, Mirza Amer Shech, Mirza Aba Bekir, Mirza Sultan Murad, Mirza Sultan Chilili, Mirza Sultan Willid, and Mirza Sultan Amer. Four of the sons of Mirza

* One of the provinces of Persia.

arrived

A. D. 1525. arrived to the dignity of kings; Mirza Aligh Beg to the throne of
Hig. 932. Cabul; Mirza Sultan Ahmed to the kingdom of Samarcand; Mirza Amer Shech to the united thrones of Indija and Firghana; and Mirza Sultan Mahmood to those of Kundiz and Buduchshan.

Eunus Chan, king of Mogulstan, gave to each of those four kings one of his daughters in marriage, excepting to Aligh Beg. Mirza Amer Shech, by Catlick Negar, the daughter of Eunus Chan, had a son, whom he named Baber, born in the year eight hundred and eighty eight. The relation between Timur* and Abu Seid, the grandfather of Baber, is this: Sultan Abu Seid was the son of Sultan Mahummud, the son of Miran Shaw, the son of Timur, Lord of Ages.

Mirza Baber, when as yet but twelve years old, discovered a capacity so uncommon at that age, that Mirza Amer gave him the kingdom of Indija; and, when his father, upon Monday, the fourth of Ramzan, in the eight hundred and ninety ninth of the Higera, fell from the roof of a pigeon-house, and was killed, Mirza Baber was advanced to the throne, and assumed the title of Zehire ul Dien.

Mirza Sultan Ahmed, and Sultan Mahmood, his uncles, led their armies against him, to be revenged of him, in his nonage, for the war of his father against them, hoping by the advantage which the accession of a child might afford, to appropriate his kingdoms to themselves. But an accident defeated their ambitious designs. After besieging him in the capital of Indija, there happened so great a mortality among their troops and cavalry, that they were glad to enter into treaty, and to raise the siege. Sultan Ahmed died upon his way to Samarcand.

They are obliged to retreat.

* Tamerlane.

The

The kings of Cashgar and Chutun soon after drew a great army towards the borders of Orgund, and made war upon Baber; but he obliged them to retreat. He, at this time, appointed Hassen Jacoob governor of Indija, who was not faithful to his trust. He rebelled in the year nine hundred, but Baber marched against him, and obliged him to fly towards Samarcand. In the same year, Ibrahim Sarid, the governor of Ashira, rebelled, and read the chutba in the name of Baifinker. Baber marched against him, and besieged him in Ashira, which he reduced in the space of forty days; and the rebel was obliged to come forth with a sword and coffin before him. Baber, however, forgave him, and marched to Chojind, and from thence to Sharuchia, to meet Sultan Mahmood, with whom he remained a few days, and returned to Indija.

A. D. 1495.
Hig. 901.
Baber reduces some rebellious governors.

Baifinker, king of Samarcand, having possessed himself of Artaba, which was a long time the property of Omar Shech, Baber resolved to retake the place, and marched accordingly with his army against it, the very next season. Shech Zulnoon, who held it on the part of the king of Samarcand, made a resolute defence, till the approach of winter obliged Baber to raise the siege, and return to Indija.

Besieges Artaba to no purpose.

Baber, in the year following, drew his army towards Samarcand, being in alliance with Sultan Alli, the brother of Baifinker Mirza, and king of Bochara; for the former endeavoured to recover from the latter the kingdom of Samarcand. The confederate kings not being able to reduce Samarcand that year, they returned home for the winter season, and made great preparations for another campaign.

Marches towards Samarcand.

Returns.

Both the kings, accordingly, in the year nine hundred and two, in the beginning of the spring, took the route of Samarcand. Sultan Alli reached Samarcand first, and Mirza Baifinker advanced without the city, and encamped before him; but, upon Baber's ar-

A. D. 1496.
Hig. 902.

Besieges Samarcand.
The siege raised.

rival, he retreated within his walls in the night. Eulu Chaja, who was going the rounds of Baber's camp, discovered the retreat of Baifinker, and falling upon his rear, put a great number to the sword. Baber laid siege to a fort, called Ashira, at a small distance from the city, and took it. The confederates, after this success, attacked Samarcand, which was defended with great bravery, till winter obliged them to raise the siege, and retire to quarters, till the ensuing season.

Baber takes Samarcand.

Sultan Alli returned to Bochara, and Baber to a place called Chajadidar. Shubiani Chan, upon his march from Turkistan, to join the king of Samarcand, came before Baber, but he thought proper to make the best of his way for Samarcand. Shubiani and Baifinker quarrelled soon after, and the former returned to his own country. This circumstance so much distressed Baifinker, that, with a small retinue, he went in person to beg the assistance of Chusero Shaw, king of Kunduz, while Baber, seizing this opportunity, hastened to Samarcand, and, in the year nine hundred and three, entered the city without opposition, and mounted the throne, being acknowledged by the greatest part of the omrahs.

Deserted by part of his army.

But as Baber had taken the place by capitulation, and forbid all manner of plunder, the army, to whom he was greatly in arrears, and who served him only for the hopes of booty, began to disperse. The Moguls, who were commanded by Ibrahim Chan Begehuck, went off in a body, and were followed by several other chiefs, with their whole dependents, to Achsi, where Jehangire, the brother of Baber, commanded. Jehangire, by the aid of the deserters, and that of a prince, called Ozin Hassan, declared himself king of Indija. He wrote, by way of sneer to his brother, that as Baber had subdued the kingdom of Samarcand, he begged to be indulged with that of Indija.

Baber

Baber having received this message, gave way to his passion, and, in blaming the perfidy of those chiefs who had deserted him, imprudently threw some reflections upon those who remained. The omrahs resented this behaviour, by abandoning him, and joining his brother. Baber, in the utmost distress, sent Eulu Chaja to endeavor to reconcile the omrahs to him again, but they sent a party to way-lay the embassador, and cut him to pieces.

A. D. 1496.
Hig. 902.

Deserted by
his whole
army.

Ali Dooft and Molana Cafi, in the mean time, threw a garrison into the fort of Indija, and continued to hold it out for Baber. The faithful omrahs sent advice to Baber of their situation; but, unfortunately at this time, he was taken so extremely ill, that, not able to swallow any thing, he barely existed by having moistened cotton applied to his lips. When he had recovered his health, and found the pressing situation of his affairs in Indija, he determined to run the risque of losing Samarcand, rather than his paternal dominions, and accordingly directed his march homewards. But Ali Dooft, and his friends in Indija, having heard that Baber was certainly dead, had capitulated, and given up the place to Jehangire. This traitor assassinated Molana, and, mounting the throne, read the chutba in his own name.

His misfor-
tunes.

Indija taken.

This disagreeable intelligence, and other advices, that the Samarcandians had revolted, were, at once, brought to Baber, upon his march, which threw him into the utmost distress, having now lost both kingdoms. He sent, as his last resource, Amir Casim Cudgi to Tashcund, to entreat the assistance of Mahmood. That sultan hastened to Jilka, where he and Baber met; but an emissary, at the same time, came to Mahmood, from Jehangire, who managed matters so well, that Sultan Mahmood left his two nephews to settle their own differences, and returned to Tashcund. This unexpected blow had such an effect upon the affairs of Baber, that they now

Samarcand
revolts.

A. D. 1496. appeared so desperate, that of all his army, in a few days, only forty
 Hig. 902.
 Baber, in the utmost distress, horsemen remained with him, to conquer two kingdoms.

In this forlorn situation he retreated to Chojind. He wrote from thence to Mahummud Hassein Gorgan Doghelat, at Artaba, acquainting him, that the place in which he was then could not protect him from the fury of his enemies; he therefore earnestly solicited him to permit him to pass the winter at Bishaer. Mahummud Hassein consented to this request; and Baber accordingly took up his quarters there. He began to recruit a new army, writing to all the friends he could think of, to join him.

He goes to Bis-
 haer.

He takes the
 field with a
 few.

Baber invited
 to Marinaan.

After a few were gathered round his standard, he considered that his future fortune depended entirely upon the reputation of his arms, and resolved to employ them against his enemies. He, therefore, hastened to Barnilack, where he took some forts by assault, and some by stratagem. But these petty exploits were of little service to him, for his affairs bore still a very ruinous aspect, which threw him into great perplexity. He received, in the mean time, agreeable tidings from Alli Dooft Tighai, begging his forgiveness, and informing him, that he was in possession of the garrison of Marinaan, and if Baber should come to take possession of it, he would number himself among his slaves.

His affairs
 begin to wear
 a favorable
 aspect.

Baber did not hesitate to accept this offer, and arriving at the place, he met Alli Dooft at the gate, who put him into possession of the fort, and supplied his finances. Baber immediately sent Amer Cassim Codgi towards the mountains of Indija, and Ibrahim Sara and Viss Laghiri towards Achsi, to endeavor to bring over friends to his party. This measure had the desired effect, for the mountaineers of Indija were gained to the interest of Baber, while Ibrahim Sara and Viss Laghiri settled matters with the governor of the fort of Baab, and two or three more, who declared for Baber.

The

The negotiations of that prince succeeded, at the same time, at the court of his uncle, Sultan Mahmood Chan, of Bochara, who marched to join him. A. D. 1498.
Hig. 904.

Jehangire, having received intelligence of the proceedings at Marinaan, and of the efforts of Baber to raise an army, marched with his forces towards that place, and sat down before it. He detached, at the same time, part of his army towards Achfi, who, falling in with Mahmood Chan, were defeated, with great slaughter. When Jehangire and Ozin Hassen received these advices, they were struck with embarrassment, and retreated to Indija. But Na- Jehangire be-
sieges him in
Marinaan.
Retreats.
firbeg, the son-in-law of Ozin Hassen, who had now the government of that city, seeing the favorable aspect of Baber's affairs, by the junction of Sultan Mahmood, and several parties of Usbecks, determined not to admit Jehangire, and immediately sent a messenger to hasten Baber to take possession of the place. This check Denied ad-
mittance into
Indija.
ruined the affairs of Jehangire, for immediately his army began to disperse, while he himself took the way to Ost, and Ozin Hassen The affairs of
Jehangire
ruined.
that of Achfi.

Baber, by this time, advanced to Indija, and took possession of that city, conferring honors upon his friends; and thus the capital Baber reco-
vers his do-
minions.
of Firghana was, in the year nine hundred and four, restored to its former administration. Upon the fourth day after the arrival of Baber, he set out for Achfi, where Ozin Hassen capitulated, and was permitted to retire to Hissaar, Casim Ogib being appointed governor of the place. The king returned to Indija, with the greatest part of Ozin Hassen's troops, who enlisted themselves under his victorious banners.

But the forces of Hassen having, upon a former occasion, plundered several persons, then in the king's army, of their effects, a complaint was made to Baber, and orders were issued to restore the
plunder

A. D. 1499.
Hig. 905.
Is deserted
by a great
part of his
army.

The deserters
defeat Casim
Cougi.

plunder to the proper owners. The Moguls, unwilling to comply with this order, mounted their horses, and, to a man, set out for Orgund, where they joined Mirza Jehangire and Ahmed Timbul, by which they were again in a condition to march against Indija. The king sent Casim Cougi to oppose them, who was defeated with great slaughter, many of the king's principal omrahs being slain, and several taken prisoners.

Indija be-
sieged.

The enemy advanced with all expedition, and laid siege to Indija for the space of thirty days, but as they could effect nothing against it, they marched towards Ouse. The king having recruited his army, marched, in the year nine hundred and five, towards Ouse, while the enemy, by another road, made a push towards Indija. Baber, however, trusting to his friends in that city, and the strength of the place, marched to Badwerd, a strong fort in the possession of Chilili, brother to Ahmed Timbul. Chilili defended the place with great resolution, but at length was forced to a capitulation, by the terms of which, he was exchanged for the king's friends, who had fallen into the enemy's hands.

The enemy
again at-
tempt Indija,

are over-
thrown by
Baber.

Ahmed Timbul, in the mean time, made an attempt to scale the walls of Indija in the night, but was repulsed with great loss. Baber, by this time, returning to that place, took a strong post by the banks of the river. He encamped before the enemy for the space of forty days, and then determined to attack their camp, though with great disadvantage. After an obstinate and bloody resistance, the rebels were driven out of their trenches, and dispersed. The king, after the victory, entered the city in triumph.

Baber was informed in Indija, that six thousand horse from Mahmood Chan, whose policy it was to weaken both parties, had come to the assistance of Jehangire, and had sat down before Cashan: The king, though it was now the middle of winter, in severe frost and snow,

snow, marched that way, upon which the allies retreated to their own country. Ahmed Timbul, who was upon his march to join the rebels, fell in accidentally with the king, in a situation where he could not escape, had not the night favored his retreat; by which means he went off with little loss. The king pursued him under the walls of Bishare, and encamped in sight.

A. D. 1499.
 Hig. 905.
 who raises
 the siege of
 Cashan.

Upon the fourth day, Ali Dooft and Cumber Alli, prevailed upon the king to make proposals of accommodation. The terms were immediately agreed upon; that Mirza Jehangire should keep possession of all the country between the river Chajand and Achsi; and that the kingdom of Indija, and the districts of Orgund, should remain to Baber; that if the latter should ever recover the kingdom of Samarcand, he should give up Indija to Jehangire.

A peace be-
 tween Baber
 and his bro-
 ther Jehan-
 gire.

After these terms of pacification were solemnly ratified by mutual oaths, the brothers had an interview, and the prisoners upon both sides were set at liberty. The king returned to Indija, where Ali Dooft, who was a man of great wealth and power, had begun to exert unbounded authority. He banished some, and imprisoned others, without the king's permission; while his son, Mahummud Dooft, took a princely state upon himself. The king, upon account of his great influence, and the numerous enemies which environed his dominions, was constrained to dissemble his resentment.

The info-
 lence of Ali
 Dooft.

In the mean time, Mahummud Mazidlir Chan, an omrah of Sultan Alli Mirza of Samarcand, apprehensive of danger from his master, joined Bijaan Mirza, the son of Sultan Mahmood, and carried him against Samarcand. Bijaan Mirza was defeated, returned, and sent an ambassador to Baber, inviting him to the conquest of that kingdom. Baber embraced the proposal, and drew his army towards Samarcand. Mahummud Mazidlir Chan having joined Baber upon his march, it was resolved in council to send a person to sound Chaja

Baber's ex-
 pedition to
 Samarcand.

Cuttub

A. D. 1499.
Hig. 905.

Cuttub ul Dien Eiah, who had almost the whole power of Samarcand in his hands. He returned them for answer, that they might march towards the city, and whatever was found then most adviseable, should be done.

In the mean time, Sultan Mahmood Dildai, who commanded a tribe in Baber's camp, left his post without any apparent reason, fled to Samarcand, and acquainted the enemy of the correspondence with Chaja Eiah, which disconcerted their measures. His veteran troops crowded to the king's standard, making complaints against Alli Dooft. Baber, therefore, determined to dismiss him from his presence, so that he and his son went over to Ahmed Timbul, but in a few days he died.

Alli Dooft
dies.

At this time Shubiani Chan had taken Bochara, and was upon full march to conquer Samarcand, which Sultan Alli Mirza was advised to relinquish to him. Baber, upon hearing this news, went to Kish, and from thence to Hissar, where Mahummud Masidli Chan, and the omrahs of Samarcand, despairing of taking that city, left him, and went to Chasero Shaw. Baber, after this desertion, was obliged to take the way to Sirtack, over rocks, stones, and rugged paths, by which his army suffered exceedingly, having lost most part of his camels and horses. This circumstance dispirited his troops to such a degree, that they all deserted him by the time he reached Barnilack, except two hundred and forty men.

Baber deserted
by his
whole army,

except two
hundred and
forty men.

Any man but Baber would have now despaired of success in his designs; but though he had left a kingdom to which he might have still returned, his ambition prompted him to run the risque of a young adventurer for another. He accordingly marched directly for Samarcand, with this small retinue, with an intention to get into that city, without being discovered. His hopes were, that he could raise a faction among his friends, while yet the city was in disorder.

His daring
attempt upon
Samarcand.

He

He entered Samarcand in the dusk of the evening, and went to Eurit Chan's house, but in a few minutes his arrival was whispered about, and the whole city began to be in an uproar. Baber, as his scheme was not ripe for execution, thought it high time to make his escape, which he did accordingly, without any loss.

A. D. 1499.
Hig. 905.

Obliged to
retreat,

After he had got clear of the city, he looked back and repented of his precipitate flight. He immediately stopped in a grove, where, being wearied with the fatigue of the day, he laid himself down upon the ground to sleep, as did the greatest part of his retinue. In about an hour he awaked from a dream, in which he imagined he saw Nasir ul Dien Abdalla, a dirvesh of great repute, coming towards his house. He thought that he invited the dirvesh to sit down, upon which his steward spread a table cloth before him, at which the dirvesh seemed greatly offended *, and rose to go away. The king begged he would excuse him, as the offence was committed by a servant. The dirvesh, upon this, took him by the arm, and held him up towards the sky, upon which he awoke, and calling up his attendants, related his dream, and determined to make an attempt immediately upon Samarcand.

His dream,

Baber's small party having mounted their horses, returned and reached the bridge about midnight. He detached eighty of his men before to a low part of the wall, near the Lover's Cave, which they scaled by the help of a hook-rope, and coming round to the gate and falling upon the guard commanded by Casiter Chan, killed and dispersed them. They immediately set open the gate, and admitted the king and his small party. The city was alarmed; but the party proclaiming the name of Baber as they passed through the streets, all who were his friends flocked to him, while his enemies, not

Returns to
Samarcand,
which he
surprizes.

* The Orientals never eat abroad without a formal invitation; besides, these independent dirveshes live upon rice and water, and will not condescend to be entertained by princes.

A. D. 1500. knowing his strength, ran distracted from place to place to join their
Hig. 926. leaders.

In a short time the alarm reached the house of Chaja Cuttub ul Dien Eiah, where seven thousand Usbecks were quartered. They rushed out and joined Shubiani Chan, who, with eight thousand Usbecks, lay in the citadel of Didar. Shubiani, with one hundred and fifty men, commanding the rest to wait for orders, set out for the iron gate, but seeing he could do nothing with that handful, he retreated. Baber, in the mean time, attended by some thousands, who rent the sky with acclamations, followed him so close, that Shubiani Chan could not, either by words or example, make one of the Usbecks stand his ground. He therefore followed them out at the opposite gate, and fled towards Bochara, and Samarcand immediately submitted to Baber.

Samarcand
submits.

This action, if we consider the strength of the place, the troops it contained, the alarm that had been spread in the evening, the small number who attempted it, the uncertainty of being joined by the citizens, and many other difficulties, we must esteem it equal to the boldest enterprize in history. The authors who relate it, very justly give it the preference to any of the exploits of Timur.

Mahummud Musidter Chan took this opportunity of wresting the forts of Kirshi and Heraz from the Usbecks; while Abul Hassen Mirza, from Muracufs, came and took Kole. Sultan Baber sent ambassadors to Sultan Hassen Mirza, and other neighbouring princes, his relations, to request their alliance, to drive Shubiani Chan out of Maver ul Nere. They either paid no regard to Baber's embassy, or sent such pitiful supplies, as served no purpose. Shubiani, by this means, recovered strength during the winter, taking Karacole, and other districts.

Sultan

Sultan Baber, in the month of Shawal, nine hundred and fix, A. D. 1501. Hig. 907. collected his whole force, and marched out of Samarcand, to engage Baber defeated by Shubiani. Shubiani. He came up with him in the environs of Caridzin, and fought him. Baber exhibited, upon this occasion, all the good qualities of the general and brave soldier, but he was deserted by his allies, and soon after by his own troops. Only fifteen brave friends remained at last by his side, with whom, seeing it in vain to contend any longer with fortune, he made good his retreat to Samarcand. He lost in this action his principal omrahs, Ibrahim Tirchan, Ibrahim Saar, Abul Affim Ko, Hyder Cassim, Amir Kiam Cudgi, Choda Birdi, Chilili, the brother of Ahmed Timbol, and other princes of note.

Shubiani advanced, and laid siege to the city; the king taking up his quarters at the college of Aligh Beg, as being the most central place for sending orders, or assistance. Besieged in Samarcand. The siege was continued with great obstinacy for many days, numbers being killed on both sides; during which time, Kutch Beg, Loma Kokultas, and Kelnizer Taghai, gave extraordinary examples of bravery. Four months had now passed in attacking and repulsing, when a dreadful famine began to rage in the city. The inhabitants eat their horses, and even the most unclean animals, while those who could not procure other provisions, subsisted upon the bark of trees.

Though the king, at the commencement of the siege, had sent ambassadors to the kings of Chorrassan, Kundez, Buckolan, and Mogulistan, all princes of the house of Timur, for succours, he received no hopes of their aid. He was, therefore, under the cruel necessity of abandoning his capital and kingdom, with about Forced to quit the city with one hundred men. one hundred friends, in a dark night, in the beginning of the year nine hundred and seven. He escaped to Tashcund, whither his brother, Mirza Jehangire, came to pay him his respects. His uncle, Sultan Mahmood, comforted him in his distress, entertained him in

A. D. 1502.
Hig. 908.

a princely manner, and gave him the city of Artaba to reside in during the winter.

Besieged at
Artaba by
Shubiani.

His misfor-
tunes.

But in the beginning of the spring, he was again attacked by Shubiani Chan, who, not being able to effect any thing against the city, plundered the country, and retreated to Samarcand. In this manner, the sultan, unable to raise his head from his misfortunes, lived for some time, Ahmed Timbol having taken possession of the kingdom of Indija, which Baber had resigned to his brother Jehangire, upon his taking Samarcand.

Aided by his
uncles.

Sultan Mahmood Chan, and his brother, Sultan Ahmed Chan, were at length prevailed upon to support Baber in an attempt to recover the kingdom of Indija from Ahmed Timbol. When the confederates had reached the boundaries of Ferghana, Ahmed Timbol marched out to oppose them. It was agreed, that Sultan Baber, with a small detachment of Moguls, should march towards Osh, to raise a party there, whilst his uncles opposed Ahmed Timbol. Baber accordingly took Osh, and was joined by some of the inhabitants of Orgun and Marinan, who expelled the garrisons of Ahmed Timbol. The king immediately marched towards Indija; and Ahmed Timbol decamped from before the confederate princes, and hastened back to cover Indija.

Defeated by
Timbol.

Timbol happened, by accident, to fall in with Baber's camp, when the troops were out foraging, and defeated him. The king escaped, wounded, to Osh, while Ahmed Timbol threw himself into Indija, and prepared for a defence. The next day, the allied

The confede-
rates besiege
Indija.

army of Sultan Mahmood and Sultan Ahmed appeared in fight, and sat down before the place, where they were joined soon after by Sultan Baber. Some time after, the inhabitants of Achfi called the king, and put him in possession of that place; but the allied princes, not being able to reduce Indija, raised the siege.

The siege
raised.

In

In the mean time, Shubiani Chan, fearing the success of Baber, A. D. 1502. Hig. 908. advanced from Samarcand with a very great army, towards Achsi. Baber immediately joined his allies, and they prepared to receive him. But in this action, which was very obstinate and bloody, the Totally defeated by Shubiani. fortune of Shubiani Chan prevailed, and both the uncles of Baber were taken prisoners. The King escaped to Mogulistan, and the kingdom of Tashcund fell into the hands of Shubiani Chan, which greatly augmented his power.

Shubiani, some time after, released the two brothers, but Sultan Sultan Baber's uncles released. Mahmood retired, and fell into a deep melancholy. When one of his friends told him, that Shubiani Chan had poisoned him, and begged to supply him with some famous Theriac of Chitta, as a powerful antidote against poisons; the prince replied, "Yes! Shubiani Chan has poisoned me, indeed! he has taken my kingdom, which is not in the power of your Theriac to restore."

Sultan Baber left Mogulistan, and came to Shudma, and from thence proceeded to Turmuz, where Amir Mahummud Backer, prince of that place, who was uneasy at the great power of the Uzbeks, glad of Baber's alliance, who still had the command of an army, received him with great kindness and respect, and gave him large presents. Baber said to him, upon this occasion, That being a He asks advice of Mahummud Backer. long time the foot-ball of fortune, and like a piece of wood on a chess-board, moved from place to place, vagrant as the moon in the sky, and restless as a stone upon the beach, he would therefore be glad of his friendly advice, as he had been so unsuccessful in his own resolves. Meer Mahummud Backer replied, That, however incapable he was to advise him, he would not withhold his opinion, which was, that, as Shubiani Chan was now in full possession of Baber's kingdom, and many others, which rendered him extremely powerful, it would be more adviseable for him to pursue his fortune elsewhere,

A. D. 1504. elsewhere, particularly in Cabulistan, which was now in a state of
Hig. 910. anarchy.

Baber's in-
gratitude to
Chusero
Shaw.

The king followed this advice, and, in the year nine hundred and ten, marched towards Cabul. Passing, in his way, through the dominions of Chusero Shaw of Kunduz, he was entertained by him with great hospitality, for which, we are sorry to relate, our hero made a very bad return. During the time that Baber resided there, he stirred up a faction in Chusero's court, and gained over seven thousand of his troops to his own interest. This plot being discovered, Chusero, with a few servants, was obliged to abandon his capital and fly to Biddiulzeman Mirza, leaving his troops, his treasure, and every thing in the possession of Baber.

Marches to-
wards Cabul.

Confusions
of that coun-
try.

Baber seizes
upon Cabul-
istan.

Baber did not fail to avail himself of these advantages. He marched immediately towards Cabul, which had been in possession of Mirza Abdul Rysaac, the son of Mirza Aligh Beg, Baber's uncle, who was then in his minority. One Zicca, exerting too much authority in the country at that time, disgusted the other omrahs, who assassinated him in the month of Zihidge. This circumstance occasioned great convulsions in the kingdom; for Mahummud Mokîm, the son of Amir Zulnôn, Prince of Garrimsere, took advantage of the intestine divisions of the Cabulians, and invaded them, forcing Mirza Abdul Rysaac to take shelter among the Afghâns: he himself took possession of that country, and married the sister of the former prince.

Affairs being in this situation, Sultan Baber arrived upon the borders of Cabul, and driving Mahummud Mokîm out of the field, forced him to take refuge in his capital, which Baber besieged and took. He then applied himself to regulate and improve that country, as dominions belonging to himself.

In

In the year nine hundred and eleven, Cabulistan was thrown into great consternation by dreadful earthquakes which laid most of the cities in ruins. Baber endeavoured to alleviate this public calamity in such a manner, by his unwearied care and extensive benevolence, that he gained the love and fidelity of all his new subjects.

A. D. 1506.
Hig. 912.
A dreadful
earthquake.

The restless genius of Baber could not lie quiet. His aspiring disposition began to extend his views to conquest. He accordingly led an army against the Argôns of Kandahar, and deprived them of the strong fort of Killât, establishing an alliance with Mirza Buddiulzeman of Herât. He marched in the same year to Kûsluckât, which he brought into subjection, and gave the government of Ghizni, which, from a great empire, was diminished into an inconsiderable province, to his brother Jehangire.

Baber in-
vades Canda-
har.

In the year nine hundred and twelve, Baber marched towards Chorrassân to join Sultan Husein Mirza, who, ashamed of his former behavior, and irritated, by fresh injuries from Shubiani Chan, now proposed to Baber, that they should join in alliance against him. But when Baber had reached Nîmrofa, he heard of Sultan Husein's death. He proceeded, however, to Chorrassân, and endeavored to stir up the princes and omrahs against the Usbecks. He was not able to effect his purpose, and he therefore returned, by the way of Herât, towards Cabul. The snows were, at that time, very deep, and prevented his passage over the hills, which obliged him to cantoon his troops in Hazara.

Marches to
Chorrassân.

When Baber was thus constrained to remain at Hazara, Mahumud Husein Gurgan, Birlafs, and other Mogul omrahs, joining with Chan Mirza his cousin, raised him to the throne of Cabul, by promoting false intelligence of the sultan's death. But when the news of his return reached the people, they rebelled against the new government, and as soon as the season permitted his approach, flocked

Disturbances
in Cabul.

A. D. 1507. flocked to his standard, put all the garrisons into his hands except
 Hig. 913. the capital, where Chan Mirza and his adherents sustained a short
 Queiled. siege, and then capitulated. The principal persons concerned in
 the revolt, were expelled the country. About this time Nasir Mir-
 za, the sultan's youngest brother, who held the government of
 Baduchshan, being defeated, by one of the generals of Shubiani
 Chan, took refuge at Cabul, and, as Mirza Jehangire had killed
 himself by hard drinking, his government of Ghizni was now con-
 ferred upon Nasir Mirza.

In the year nine hundred and thirteen, Baber marched against
 the Afghans of Ghalingi, who infested his country, and took
 from them one hundred thousand sheep, and some thousands of
 other cattle, and returned. The omrahs of the house of Argôn,
 being greatly oppressed by the Usbecks, wrote to Baber, at this
 time, that if he would march that way, they would put him in
 possession of Candahar. The sultan did not hesitate to comply
 with their request. He immediately set out, and, as he was pas-
 sing Kilât, Chan Mirza begged the favor of being admitted into
 his presence, and, receiving his pardon, accompanied him. When
 he had reached the borders of Candahâr, he wrote to Shaw Beg
 and Mahummud Mokêm, that he was so far upon his way, ac-
 cording to their desire, and that, therefore, he expected to see
 them in his camp.

Since the time of their writing to Baber, some alterations in
 their politicks, had made them repent of the application they had
 made, so that instead of receiving the sultan in a friendly manner,
 they prepared for war, and desired he would return home. But
 the sultan determined not to suffer such an indignity with impunity.
 He marched forward, and engaged them at the village of Gil-
 lishack, near the city of Candahar, defeated them with great
 slaughter, and cutting off their retreat from the city, Shaw Beg fled

Takes Can-
 dahar,

to Saul, and Mahummud Mokîm towards Dawir. Baber immediately laid siege to the city, and took it, with all the wealth of the family of Zulnôn, which he divided, by weight, amongst his officers and troops, according to their respective stations. He left Nasir Mirza in the government of Candahar and Dawir, and then returned in triumph to Cabul.

A. D. 1508.
Hig. 914.

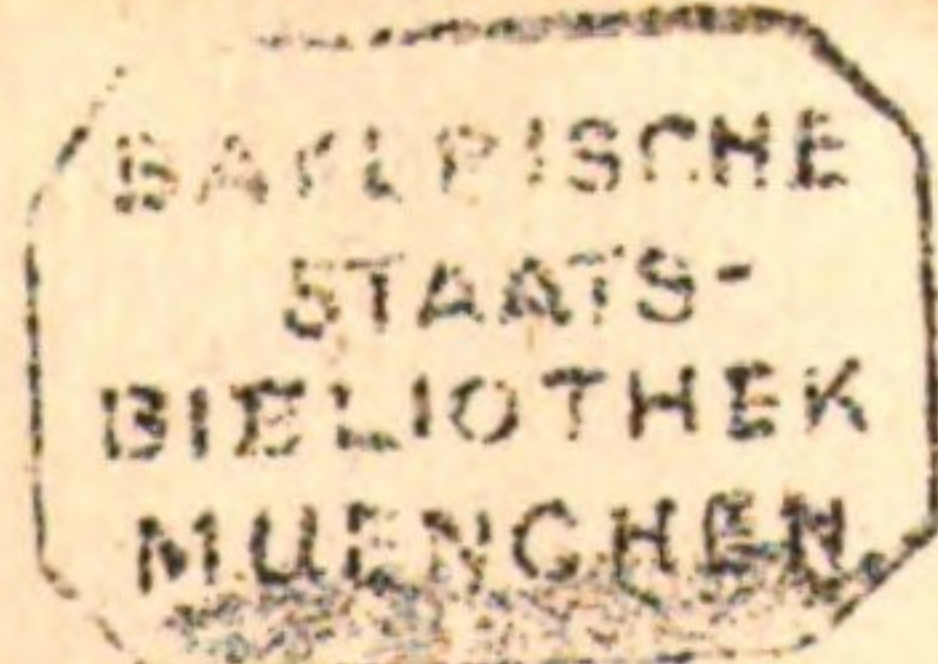
Mahummud Mokîm having, this very year, complained to Shubiani Chan, prevailed upon him to engage in his behalf, and to march towards Candahar. Nasir Mirza, upon receiving this intelligence, shut himself up in the town, and sent expresses to his brother for assistance. Baber wrote him to defend the place as long as he could, but if he should be driven to great distress, to capitulate, and come to him at Cabul; for that, at this time, he was in no condition to dispute the field with Shubiani Chan, whose forces and finances were greatly superior; besides, that a defeat might ruin him for ever, and overset all the projects he had formed of raising himself a kingdom in Hindostan. Nasir Mirza, according to these instructions, after he could hold out no longer with propriety, capitulated, and came to the sultan at Cabul. Shubiani Chan, after taking the place, gave it back to the sons of Zulnôn, and marched with his army towards Chorraissân. But no sooner had Shubiani evacuated Candahar, than the Arguniahs made an incursion, and possessed themselves of the place. This was an agreeable piece of news to Sultan Baber, as they formed a barrier between him and the Usbecks.

which is
retaken by
Shubiani.

This year, upon the fourth of Zicât, Sultan Baber had a son born to him, in Cabul, whom he named Humaioon, who afterwards became emperor of Hindostan. The sultan, in the following year, took the field against the Memind Afghans, and, during his absence, the Moguls of Chusero Shaw, who had been left to defend Cabul, revolted, and set up Abdul Rysâc, the son of Aligh Beg,

Humaioon
born.

Cabul, in the
absence of
Baber, re-
volts.



A. D. 1509.
Hig. 915.
Faber deserted
by his army.

Beg, upon the throne. The sultan was immediately deserted by the greatest part of his army, for hearing of the rebellion in Cabul, they hastened home, to protect their families, insomuch that out of upwards of ten thousand horse, which he carried to the field, Baber had now scarce five hundred remaining in his camp.

His daring
enterprize.

Notwithstanding of these misfortunes, Baber boldly resolved to advance towards Cabul, with the few trusty friends he had left. Abdul Ryfaac, upon the sultan's approach, came out of the city with an army ten or twelve thousand strong. The sultan, with his small troop, advanced towards them, and when he came near, ordered them to halt. He himself rode close up to the rebel-army, and challenged Adbul Ryfaac to fight; but, as he seemed to decline the combat, five omrahs, one after another, engaged him, and fell by his hand. The names of the omrahs were Alli Shubcore, Alli Seiftani, Niser Bahadur Usbeck, Jacob Tez Jung, and Usbeck Bahadar.

Kills five
omrahs in
single combats.

This heroic behavior struck the rebels with so much admiration and astonishment, that they refused to fight, by which means the usurper was taken. But so great was the sultan's clemency, that he pardoned him; but soon after, beginning to raise more disturbance, he suffered the just reward of a traitor.

War between
Persia and
the Usbecks.

The country of Chusero Shaw having fallen into the hands of the Usbecks, who took no proper means of keeping it in subjection, a number of independent chiefs sprung up in Buduchshan, of whom the principal was Zeiper. Chan Mirza, upon this, by the advice of his mother, Sha Begum, who traced her genealogy to the great Secunder*, began to entertain hopes, and to take measures to raise himself to that kingdom. Having previously obtained leave of the sultan, he this year left Cabul; and, having raised a small

* Alexander the Great.

army,

army, advanced towards the borders of Buduchshan. But his mother, who came up in the rear, was attacked by a body of Kashgars, and carried off prisoner, while Chan Mirza himself was defeated, and obliged to give himself up to Zeiper, who kept him under guard. Eusoph Alli Kockultash, who had been an old servant of Mirza, formed a conspiracy against Zeiper, and assassinated him, and Chan Mirza was raised to the throne by the people.

A. D. 1509.
Hig. 915.

In the year nine hundred and sixteen, Shaw Ismaiel Suffavi, king of Iran, wrote to Shubiani Chan to withdraw his troops from some of the skirts of his dominions, upon which he had begun to encroach, to root up the tree of contention, which produced bitter fruits, and to plant that of friendship, whose blossoms shed the most grateful perfume. Shubiani Chan replied, That it was only for those who were descended from kings to entertain thoughts of empire; that it was true, that Shaw Ismaiel, though the son of a Turkuman Fakier, had raised himself to a kingdom, when there was no lord of seven nations around him, to oppose him; that therefore, it would be now adviseable for him to retire to his former obscurity, and that, for that purpose, he sent him a staff and a beggar's dish for his inheritance; for that Shubiani only was worthy of possessing the bride of royalty, who durst kiss her through opposing swords.

Ismaiel Suffavi answered, That if empire was an inheritance, by what means was it so often violated, till it fell to his lot? for his own part, he had always considered the right of kings as founded upon power, and that the longest sword was the best title. That, with the latter, he was, at all times, ready to dispute with Shubiani; and that, though he himself had no opinion of contemptuous ostentation, yet in return for Shubiani's present, he had sent him a gridiron and spinning-wheel for his amusement. As for the rest, that Ismaiel would be his own messenger.

A. D. 1511.
Hig. 917.

Shubiani
overthrown
and slain.

Having dispatched this message, Ismaiel immediately collected his army, and, marching eastward, subdued Chorrassân, and advanced to Murve, before Shubiani Chan could make the least opposition. Shubiani not being then prepared to engage Ismaiel, in the field, he shut himself up in Murve. But being severely reproached by Shaw Ismaiel, he marched out and gave him battle, in which he was defeated. In his flight he had the misfortune to get into a park, with about five hundred princes and principal officers, from whence he could find no outlet. He was attacked there by Shaw Ismaiel, and seeing no hope of escape left, he and his followers fought, refusing quarter, till every man of them was laid dead on the field.

Baber
marches to
recover his
dominions.

Chan Mirza immediately dispatched this important news from Buduchshan to Sultan Baber, and went himself to Kunduz; informing him, that now was the time for recovering his former dominions. Baber accordingly, in the year nine hundred and seventeen, marched, with all expedition, towards Hissar, crossing the Amu* with Chan Mirza. But a great army of Usbecks being encamped near that city, they were obliged to retreat to Kunduz.

Clemency of
Ismaiel
Shaw.

Baber solicits
his aid
against the
Usbecks.

Shaw Ismaiel, at this time, sent Chan Zad Begum, the sultan's sister, who had been taken in Samarcand, by Shubiani Chan, and afterwards married by him, with all her effects, to Kunduz; where she gave so favorable an account of the generous behavior of Shaw Ismaiel, that Baber was induced to hope for his assistance in reinstating him in his hereditary kingdom. He, for this purpose, sent him an ambassador, with proper presents. In the mean time, in order to keep up the spirit of enterprize, he marched towards Hissar, where he still found the Usbecks greatly superior in force to him. He therefore declined to attack them, till he should recruit more forces. This being done, he advanced to their encampment, and offered them battle, which they accepted, and Baber obtained

* The Oxus.

a complete victory, to which the bravery of Chan Mirza greatly contributed.

A. D. 1511.
Hig. 917.
Baber over-
throws the
Usbecks.

He was, in a few days after, joined by Ahmed Sultan Suffi, Alli Chan Ostagelo, Sharock Chan Afshar, and a fine body of cavalry on the part of Shaw Ishmaiel, by which his army amounted to sixty thousand horse. With this reinforcement he marched towards Bochara, and, after several successful actions with Abdulla Chan, and Jani Beg Sultan, possessed himself of that kingdom. Upon the fifteenth of Regib of the same year, he marched from Bochara to Samarcand, which city surrendered to him the third time, and acknowledged him sovereign.

Takes Bo-
chara,

and Samar-
cand..

Baber fixed his residence at Samarcand, and appointed Nasir Mirza, his brother, to the government of Cabul, giving leave to the troops of Shaw Ishmaiel to return home. But he had not possessed this throne above nine months, before the Usbecks, who had fled to Turkestan, advanced, under Timur Sultan, who had succeeded to Shubiani Chan, Jani Beg Sultan, and Abdulla Chan, who had divided Bochara between them. Upon receiving these advices, the sultan marched to defend Bochara, where he engaged these confederate princes, but being defeated, was obliged to shut himself up within the walls. He was, in the end, forced to abandon the city, and to retreat to Samarcand. Here he was again besieged, and obliged to fly to Shadman.

Loses Bocha-
ra, and Sa-
marcand.

About this time, Nigim Jani, of Ispahan, general of the Kishl-baches of Iran, advanced with an intention to possess himself of Balich. Baber, ever watchful to grasp at every thing favorable to the ruling passion of his soul, formed an alliance with him for the recovery of his dominions. Nigim Sani having taken the fort of Kirish from the Usbecks, put the garrison, consisting of fifteen thousand, to the sword. He then laid siege to Gudgdewan, in conjunction with

Makes an
alliance with
the Persian
general.

A. D. 1518. with the sultan, whither the princes of the Usbecks advanced against
 Hig. 924. them, from Bochara, with a great army; and fortune being still the
 adversary of Baber, Nigim Sani, with a great part of his army, was
 Baber and his allies overthrown. slain, and the sultan obliged to fly to Shadman, with a few at-
 tendants.

A conspiracy
 against his
 life.

Nor did the misfortunes of Baber rise from the enemy alone. His
 attendants conspired against his life, for having blamed some of them
 for bad behavior. They rushed, in the night, into his tent, but
 being alarmed by the noise, he made his escape, naked, and reached
 the fort of Arick before morning, without one attendant; and the
 conspirators plundered his camp, and dispersed themselves. In this
 situation of affairs, the sultan saw no further hope in those northern
 regions, and therefore set out for Cabul with a small retinue, and
 upon his arrival appointed Nasir Mirza to the government of Ghizni.

He returns to
 Cabul.

In the year nine hundred and twenty four, he marched towards
 Sawad and Bejoar, possessed by the Afghans of Eusoph Zehi, who
 had been infesting his country. Having defeated those mountaineers,
 and carried some thousands of them into captivity, he gave the go-
 vernment of that country to Chaja Kallan.

SECTION XII.

The history of SULTAN BABER, from the year nine hun-
 dred and twenty four, to his decisive victory over
 SULTAN IBRAHIM LODI.

WHEN Sultan Secunder, the king of Hindostan, died, he was
 succeeded, as we have already related, by Sultan Ibrahim,
 in whose reign the Patan omrahs became so factious, that they to-
 tally broke the power of that empire. Sultan Baber reckoned this
 a good

a good opportunity to establish himself in Hindostan, the conquest of which he had long meditated, though he was always embroiled in other affairs.

A. D. 1519.
Hig. 925.
Meditates
the conquest
of Hindostan.

Baber accordingly, in the year nine hundred and twenty five, marched his army as far as the Nilaab, or Sind. He subdued all the countries in his way, and crossing the river, advanced to Berah in Punjaab, raising heavy contributions for with-holding his troops from plunder. He sent from Berah, Moulana Murshid with an embassy to Sultan Ibrahim, acquainting him, that as that country had been for many years in the possession of the house of Timur, it was proper he should now relinquish his pretensions to it, and so prevent the war from being carried further into his country.

Invailes Hindostan.

Reduces Punjaab.

At this place Baber received advice of the birth of another son, whom he named Hindal Mirza. He appointed Hassen Beg, governor of the conquered countries as far as Chinaab, and marched in person against the Gickers, and besieged the fort of Pirhala, whither Hati their chief had retired. The Gickers were, one day, tempted to take the field, and were defeated by Dooft Beg, the sultan's general, while he himself cut off their retreat to the fort, and obliged them to fly to the mountains. The fort, in which there was a considerable treasure, fell by this means into his hands, which satisfied Baber for this expedition, and he returned to Cabul.

Marches
against the
Gickers.

Returns to
Cabul.

In the latter end of the same year, Baber returned again to Hindostan, with an intention to take Lahore, and in his way chastised some Patans of the tribe of Eusoph Zehi, who disturbed his march. He built a fort at Peshawir, and then advanced to the Sind. He there received intelligence, that Sultan Seid, Chan of Kashgar, was marching into Buduchshân, which obliged him to return, leaving Mirza Mahummud Sultan, one of the descendents of Timur, with four thousand horse, to support his authority in that country. He had

His second
expedition
into Hindos-
tan.

A. D. 1519.
Hig. 926.

had not, however, reached Cabul, before he heard that Sultan Seid Chan had been obliged to retreat. Baber, therefore, turned his face towards the Afghans, of the tribe of Chizer Cheil, who began to make depredations upon Cabulistan in his absence, and severely chastised them for their insolence, spoiled their country, and returned to Cabul.

Baber's third
expedition
into Hindos-
tan.

Baber, in the year nine hundred and twenty six, marched a third time towards Hindostan, chastising the Patans in his way, till he reached Salcot, the inhabitants of which country submitted, and saved their possessions. But the people of Seidpoor, erecting the standard of defence, were, in the end, put all to the sword, their wealth given up to depredation, and their children and wives carried away captive. Baber was here alarmed, by intelligence from Cabul, that obliged him to return, for the Kandharians had invaded his country. He marched against them, drove them out of the field, and invested their capital.

Returns and
besieges Can-
dahar,

which is
taken.

He, in the mean time, received advice of the death of Chan Mirza, in Buduchshan, and appointed his son Humaioon to that government. Shaw Beg, the prince of Candahar, held out with great bravery against Baber for the space of three years, during which time the siege lasted. But in the year nine hundred and twenty eight, Baber, who was obstinate in his resolution, at length reduced it, and all the country of Garrumfere, appointing prince Camiran to the government.

Baber's
fourth expe-
dition into
Hindostan.

Soon after the surrender of Candahar, Dowlat Chan Lodi, apprehensive of Sultan Ibrahim, sent a deputation to Sultan Baber, at Cabul, begging his protection. Baber, in the year nine hundred and thirty, augmented his army, and advanced within six crores of Lahore, where Par Chan Lodi, Mubarick Chan Lodi, and Bicken Chan Lohani, who were powerful omrahs of Punjaab, joined their forces,

forces, and opposed him; but they were defeated with great slaughter. Baber, in person, marched to Lahore, and took it, setting fire to the Bazar, according to a superstitious custom of the Moguls.

A. D. 1523.
Hig. 930.
Lahore
taken,

The king remained four days only in Lahore, and then advanced against Debalpoor. He summoned the place to surrender, but as the garrison forced him to risk an assault, in which he was successful, he put them all to the sword. Dowlat Chan Lodi, with Alli Chan, Ghazi Chan, and Delawir Chan, his three sons, joined him at Debalpoor, and the father was appointed to the government of Jallender, Sultanpoor, and other districts of Punjaab, which rendered him very powerful.

and Debal-
poor.

This Dowlat Chan Lodi was a descendant of the race of that name who heretofore reigned at Delhi. He gave to Sultan Baber information, that Ismaiel Jelwani, Mai Jelwani, and other Afghans, were collected at Kharahr; that it would, therefore, be advisable to dispatch a force against them. The sultan agreed to this proposal, and prepared to send a detachment that way. In the mean time, Delawir Chan, the youngest son of Dowlat Chan, acquainted Baber, with whom he was a great favorite, that his father and brother wanted to divide his troops, to put some plan which they themselves had concerted, in execution. The sultan, after being convinced of the truth of this information, ordered Dowlat Chan Lodi, and his son Ghazi Chan, into confinement. He then crossed the Suttuluz, advanced to Sirhind, and there released the prisoners, and gave them jagiers. But when they had reached Sultanpoor, they deserted the camp, and fled to the hills. The sultan, upon this, gave to Delawir Chan the title of Chan Chanan, and both their jagiers; but as the father and son's desertion greatly affected Baber's interest in Hindostan, he thought it no ways advisable to proceed to Delhi this year. He, accordingly, returned to Lahore,

Dowlat Chan
Lodi

suspected,

confined,

escapes,

A. D. 1524. and, having appointed governors to the different countries in his
 Hig. 931. possession in Hindostan, set out for Cabul.

During Baber's absence, Dowlat Chan Lodi found means to seize his son, Chan Chanan, who had betrayed him, and put him in chains; then marching with a formidable army to Debalpoor, fought Sultan Alla ul Dien and Baba Kiska, and defeating them, subdued that country. Sultan Alla ul Dien fled to Cabul, and Baba Kiska to Lahore. Dowlat Chan sent five thousand Sirwani Afghans against Salcot, but Mir Abdul Aziz, of Lahore, immediately marched, with what forces he had, to the assistance of Kokiltash, who held the government of Salcot, and meeting with this detachment of Afghans, defeated them, and returned to Lahore.

Sultan Ibrahim attacks him.

Much about this time, an army, on the part of Sultan Ibrahim, of Delhi, marched against Dowlat Chan and his son. Dowlat turned his army to give them battle, and, having met them at Bidjwarrah, found means to stir up a faction in his own favor in the imperial camp, insomuch that such as were not disaffected were obliged to fly the camp, and return to Ibrahim.

Alla arrives at Lahore.

Sultan Alla ul Dien, who had lost his government of Debalpoor, and had fled to Cabul, now arrived in Lahore, with orders from Baber to all his omrahs of those parts, to join him with all their forces, and march towards Delhi, and that he would support them in person as soon as his affairs at home would permit. Dowlat Chan and Ghazi Chan Lodi, hearing of this order, wrote to the Mogul omrahs, that they were glad to find that Sultan Baber espoused the cause of Alla ul Dien, who was the very person they themselves would chuse to raise to the throne of Delhi; that if they would, therefore, send him to them, they would undertake to place him upon the Musnud.

The omrahs, having first obtained a grant for Sultan Baber, of A. D. 1525.
 all the countries beyond the Sind, permitted Alla ul Dien to join ^{Hig. 932.}
 the Lodis himself, without complying further with the sultan's or- ^{Joins the two}
 ders. When accordingly he arrived in their camp, Dowlat Chan ^{Lodis.}
 and his son supplied him with the greatest part of their force, with
 which he marched towards Delhi, and invested it, as before re- ^{Besieges}
 lated, with forty thousand horse. In the mean time, Sultan Ibra- ^{Delhi.}
 him advanced against him from Agra, and was surprized, in the
 night, when he had reached near the city; but, by the irregular
 behavior of Sultan Alla ul Dien's army, who, in the morning, dis-
 persed themselves to plunder, they were fallen upon by Sultan Ibra-
 him, and defeated in their turn, which obliged Alla to retreat, in ^{Overthrown}
 great distress, to Punjaab. When Sultan Baber heard of the defeat ^{by Ibrahim.}
 of Alla ul Dien, he awoke from the dream of indolence and lux-
 ury, which he had indulged for some time in Cabul, and, in the
 beginning of the spring, of the year nine hundred and thirty two,
 marched the fifth time towards Hindostan. He was joined by his ^{Baber's fifth}
 son Humaioon, with a good force, from Buduchshan, and Chaja ^{expedition}
 Callan, with the troops from Ghizni. He took the rout of Lahore, ^{into Hindos-}
 and in the way used to hunt rhinoceroses, with which that country ^{tan.}
 abounded, and so had an opportunity of putting the personal bravery
 of most of his omrahs to trial, as that was a dangerous and warlike
 exercise. Many of those animals were killed, and some taken alive
 in toils.

Upon the first of Rubbi ul Awil, Baber crossed the Sind, and ^{Crosses the}
 upon the banks of that river, mustered his army, which consisted ^{Sind.}
 of only ten thousand choice horse. Crossing then the Behat, he ad-
 vanced to Salcot, where Sultan Alla ul Dien met him, and likewise
 Mahummud Alli Jung-jung, governor of Cullanore, and Chaja
 Haffin, the dewan for those provinces.

A. D. 1525.
Hig. 932.

Puts to flight
the two Lo-
dis.

Dowlat
taken.

Dowlat Chan and Ghazi Chan, who reckoned themselves publickly in the service of Alla ul Dien, now lay upon the banks of the Ravi, near Lahore, with an army of forty thousand men; but when Baber advanced towards them, they fled; Dowlat to the fort of Milwit, and Ghazi Chan to the skirts of the hills. Sultan Baber invested Milwit, and Dowlat Chan, after a few days, capitulated. It seems, that some days before, he put on two swords, and boasted what he would do to Sultan Baber. Baber now ordered those two swords to be hung round his neck, and in that manner Dowlat was brought to his presence; but notwithstanding his behaviour, the sultan forgave all his crimes, and took him into favor.

Overthrown
by Baber's
army.

Baber's
expedition
into Hindo-
stan.

Ghazi de-
feated.

Baber
marches to-
wards Delhi.

When the gates of the fort were opened, the troops pressed in in an irregular manner, and began to plunder. Baber, upon this, mounted his horse, and entering, was under the necessity of using violence, to prevent their outrages. He killed, upon this occasion, a principal officer of his son Humaioon's retinue, with an arrow, for which he was extremely grieved, as it happened by mistake. The sultan, by this means, saved the honor of Dowlat Chan's family, who were all in the place, and preserved a noble library which he had collected, Dowlat Chan being a poet and a man of learning. Baber marched from thence the next day, and pursued Ghazi Chan, when Chan Chanan, Ghazi Chan's brother, found means to escape to him, and was honorably received. Chapihoon Chan, who was detached in front, having fallen in with Ghazi, defeated him, and pursued him so close, that he was obliged to fly to Sultan Ibrahim Chan, at Delhi. Dowlat Chan died upon this march.

Baber having, in several actions, perceived the inferiority of the Patan troops to his own, determined to delay no longer his final attempt upon the empire. He accordingly marched towards Delhi, having some letters of encouragement, at the same time, from a few of the malcontents at the court of Sultan Ibrahim. When he had reached

reached the banks of the Giger, he heard that Hamid Chan, governor of Firofa, was waiting to oppose him in front, with the troops of those parts. Baber, therefore, sent Humaioon, Kallan Beg, Sultan Duldi, Jehan Beg, Chusero Beg, Hindo Beg, Abdul Aziz, and Mahummud Alli Jung-jung, to drive Hamid from his post, which they effected, and returned victorious to the army. As this was the first battle in which prince Humaioon commanded, his father was greatly rejoiced, and gave him the countries of Firofa and Jallender. Two days after, Meian, an omrah of the party of Ibrahim, appeared in fight, and desired to join Baber's colours, with three thousand Patan horse, and was accordingly entertained in his service.

A. D. 1525.
Hig. 932.

Humaicon
defeats a
Patan army.

Baber having arrived within two stages of Shawabad, received intelligence that Sultan Ibrahim, with a great army, had marched out of Delhi to oppose him, and that Daood Chan and Hatim Chan, formed his vanguard with twenty seven thousand horse. The sultan immediately detached Chin Timur Sultan, Muedi Chaja, Mahummud Sultan Mirza, Adil Sultan Mirza, with all the troops of the left wing, and the squadrons of Sultan Juncid Birlafs, and Shaw Hassein Birlafs, against this advanced post. They accordingly fell in with them the next morning at sun-rise, and after an obstinate conflict, put Daood Chan and Hatim Chan to flight, but the latter fell in the pursuit. The victors took seven elephants, and a great number of prisoners, with whom they returned to Baber; but he, we are sorry to relate such barbarity, put them to death, by way of striking terror into his enemies.

Baber arrives
at Shawabad.

Defeats the
van of Ibra-
him's army.

Baber advancing to the field of battle, encamped there six days, ordering chains to be made to link the carriages of his guns together, to prevent the horse breaking through them. The army of Sultan Ibrahim, by this time, consisted of one hundred thousand horse, and a thousand elephants; that of Sultan Baber, of thirteen thousand only. When Sultan Ibrahim had advanced near, Baber ordered five thousand

Preparations
for a general
engagement.

A. D. 1525. thousand horse to storm his camp in the night; but finding the
 Hig. 932. enemy upon their guard, this detachment returned without attempting any thing.

This retreat hastened Sultan Ibrahim to action, and accordingly he marched next morning to Panniput. Baber, at the same time, advanced within six crores of Ibrahim's encampment. Upon the day after, being the seventh of Rigib, the two armies came in fight of each other. Baber divided his troops into two lines, and four grand divisions, with a body of reserve in the rear of each, and a few light horse to skirmish in front. The first division on the right was commanded by Prince Humaioon, with the squadron of Chaja Cullan Beg, Sultan Mahummud Dewilde, Hindo Beg, Willi Beg Chazin, and Pier Kulli Seistani. The first on the left was under the orders of Mirza Mahummud Sultan, with the squadrons of Meridi Chaja, Ghazi Sultan, Sultan Suneid Birlafs, and Shaw Hassein Birlafs. The second, on the right towards the center, was commanded by Chin Timur Sultan, Mirza Mahummud Kokultash, and Shaw Munfoor. The second, to the left towards the center, by Meer Chalifa, Tirdi Beg, and Mihib Alli Chalifa. Chusero Kokultash, Mahummud Alli Jungjung, and Mirza Soliman, were appointed to command the light horse, or herawils, in the front. Abdul Aziz and Bar Tirrah, in the rear of the right, and Kirrah Keri Bahadur and Willi Kizil, in the rear of the left. Besides which, there was a reserve in the rear of both lines, that on the right commanded by Malleck Casim, and that on the left by Alli Bahadur. The king himself took his post in the centre of the first line, after having personally given orders to his generals.

Ibrahim draws out his army. The emperor Ibrahim, ignorant of the art of war, observed no regular order of battle, but drew up his army in one great line, or column, of unequal depth, and ordered them to charge the Mogul army, vainly imagining that he could bear them down by numbers.

But

But he found himself soon fatally deceived. So formidable were the Moguls to the Patans, from their known courage and steady order, that the emperor's unweildy column began to break and turn thin, before they came up to the charge, which was directed at the center of the Mogul army. Those who advanced were repulsed with great bravery, but when they sought to retreat, they found themselves surrounded; for the two bodies of reserve, in the rear of the Mogul line, had wheeled round their flanks, and meeting in the center, fell upon the rear of those who had advanced to the charge, by which means the Afghans were almost all cut to pieces. The reserve having performed this service, retired to their post in the rear, and the Mogul lines advanced, sustaining various irregular charges from the Indian army, whom they repulsed with great slaughter.

A. D. 1525.
Hig. 932.
The Indian
army broken.

Sultan Ibrahim, at last roused with shame and indignation, advanced in person, followed by the flower of his army, and gave such a violent shock to the Mogul line, as threw it into disorder. Nothing now but personal bravery was left to decide the day; but in this, and the compact form in which the Moguls whole force was wedged, they were still superior to the Indians. Five thousand fell with Sultan Ibrahim in one small spot of ground. The Patan army, when their king was slain, recoiled like surges from a rocky shore, and the torrent of flight rolled towards the banks of the Jumna, dying the course of that river with blood; for so far did Sultan Baber continue the pursuit; but being wearied with slaughter, he gave hope to fear, and respite to death.

Sultan Ibrahim charges
the Moguls
in person.

Ibrahim killed.
A total overthrow of his
army.

According to the most moderate accounts there were sixteen thousand Afghans killed in this action, though most of the Indian authors say fifty thousand. Of the loss of Baber we have no information; conquerors having it always in their power to conceal the number of their slain. We may date from this battle, the fall of the Patan empire, though that race, afterwards made many efforts,

The fall of
the Patan
and empire.

A. D. 1525. and recovered it, for a few years, as we shall see in the life of
 Hig. 932. Humaioon.

Sultan Baber did not fail to make the best use of his victory. He immediately after the battle detached Humaioon, and three of his principal omrahs, to Agra, before they could have time to recover from their consternation, or to remove their wealth. He also sent Mahummud Sultan, and three other omrahs, to Delhi, to take possession of that capital, while he himself came up in the rear, and, on the twelfth of Rigi, entered that city. The chutba was read in his name, by Zein Sidder; and, after having surveyed the city, and visited the tombs of the saints and heroes, he set out for Agra, where he arrived the twenty fifth of the same month, and immediately invested the fort, which was in possession of the former government, garrisoned by the troops of Raja Bickermagit, of Gualier, who had been killed in the action. But so much had the terror of his arms now taken possession of every mind, that they immediately desired to capitulate, and sent him, by way of ransom, a perfect diamond weighing two hundred and twenty four ruttys*, which was formerly the property of Sultan Alla ul Dien Chilligi. Sultan Baber presented it to his son Humaioon. Thus, upon the fifth day after his arrival, he was put in possession of the place, in which he found the mother of Sultan Ibrahim, who was treated with becoming respect, and permitted to carry away all her wealth.

Reflexions
 upon the con-
 quest of Hin-
 dostan by
 Baber.

This conquest of Hindostan, as Baber himself writes in his Commentaries †, was certainly superior to that of any former conqueror. Sultan Mahmood of Ghizni was not only a powerful emperor, but the country was, at that time, divided into a number of kingdoms, which greatly facilitated his enterprizes. Shab ul Dien Ghor brought an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men with him, when the king-

* A ratty is seven eighths of a carat.

† The Commentaries of Baber are still extant, and reckoned one of the best performances of the kind in the East.

dom was not so powerful. The like may be said of Timur, who ravaged Hindostan when it was torn to pieces by civil commotions. But the army of Sultan Baber was but a handful in proportion to that of Sultan Ibrahim, who possessed all the countries between the Sind and Behar, and could bring five hundred thousand men to the field; while Baber only possessed the poor countries of Cabul, Buduchshan, and Candahar, the revenues of which were very inconsiderable.

A. D. 1526.
Hig. 933.

To what then can we attribute this extraordinary conquest, in a natural light, but to the great abilities and experience of Baber, the bravery of his few hardy troops, trained up to war, for their subsistence, and now fired with the hopes of glory and gain? But what contributed most to weigh down the scale of conquest, was the degeneracy of the Patans, effeminated by luxury and wealth, and dead to all principles of virtue and honor, which their corrupt factions and civil discords had totally effaced; it being now no shame to fly, no infamy to betray, no breach of honor to murder, and no scandal to change parties. When, therefore, the fear of shame and the love of fame were gone, it was no wonder that a herd, without unanimity, order, or discipline, should fall into the hands of a few brave men. This is the general tendency of wealth in all governments, if the reins are not held fast, the laws punctually executed, and the progress of corruption checked both by private and public oeconomy.

Upon the twentieth of Rigib, Baber went into the treasury, which was very rich. He reserved not a single dinar for himself, but divided it among his omrahs and troops; the share of the former coming to two lacks of rupees each; and those of others were proportionable to their rank and stations. A part was sent to Cabul, to be divided among Baber's subjects, which yielded to each a silver sharooh *, besides presents, which he sent to Samarcand, Chorrassan,

Baber's generosity.

* A silver sharooh is in value about a shilling sterling.

A. D. 1526. Hig. 933. Kashgur, Ayrac, Mecca, Medina, Kirbilla, Negif, Mushad, and other holy places, in charity. This generosity, which bordered upon prodigality, got Baber the name of a Collinder, whose custom it is to keep nothing for to-morrow.

The provin-
cial omrahs
refuse to sub-
mit.

Raise Ma-
hummud to
the throne.

As the Patans were in great terror of the Moguls, and had a natural antipathy to their government, they still refused to submit, and appeared every where in arms, strengthening their forts, and erecting the standard of defiance in their different provinces; Cazim, in Simbol; Alli Chan Formalli, in Mewat; Mahummud Zeitôn, in Dolepoor; Tatar Chan, in Gualiêr; Houssein Chan Lohani, in Rhaberi; Cuttub Chan, in Atava; Allum Chan, in Calpee; Nizim Chan, in Biana; besides Nasir Chan Lohani, and Maroof Furmalli, on the other side of the Ganges. All these omrahs refused to acknowledge Baber's authority. But as it was necessary to form an alliance for their mutual defence, they unanimously appointed Par Chan, the son of Diria Chan Lodi, their general, or, rather, king, by the title of Sultan Mahummud; and, rendezvousing at Kin-noge, advanced towards Agra. At the same time, Mai, the Afghan chief, who had joined Baber, now deserted him, with all his adherents: even the inhabitants of the country round Agra, cut off his foraging parties, and rendered it very difficult for him to support his cavalry, or supply his troops with provisions: Add to this, the intolerable heat of the weather, by which a great many Moguls, not being accustomed to such a climate, died.

Baber's dis-
tressful situa-
tion.

His resolute
behavior.

In this situation of affairs, Baber received an address from all his omrahs, advising him to return to Cabul; to which he replied, That a kingdom which had cost him so much pains in taking, was not to be wrested from him but by death alone. He, at the same time, issued a proclamation, that he was determined to abide his fate in Hindostan; but if any person was desirous of returning to Cabul, preferring safety to glory, and ignoble ease to the manly toils and dangers

dangers of war, they might retire in peace, and leave him only those whose valor would reflect honour on themselves, and glory on their king and country. A. D. 1526.
Hig. 933.

The omrahs hearing this, were ashamed of their former behavior, and, striking their breasts, swore they would never forsake him; all, except Chaja Callân, whose bravery was too well established to be disputed, though he was advised, being at the point of death, to retire to recover his health. He was appointed governor of Cabul and Ghizni, for the great services which he had rendered to the king. When it was known that Baber had determined not to leave Hindostan, as his ancestor Timur had done, some omrahs, who were willing to be first in favor, began to come over to him; first, Shech Gurin, with three thousand horse, from between the rivers, offered his service, which was accepted. The next was Alli Chan Formalli, from Mewat, to redeem his sons who had been taken in the battle; then Firose Chan and Shech Baizid Chirmali, with their whole dependents. Some Patan chiefs come over to his party.

Much about this time, an address was received from Casim, of Simbol, that Bein, an Afghan, was besieging him in his fort, and that if the sultan would send him succours, he would lift himself among his servants. The king sent Kokultash, with a detachment, that way, who engaged Bein, the Afghan, and defeated him, after which Casim put the Moguls in possession of the fort. The king then sent his son Humaioon, with the greatest part of his army, against the confederate omrahs, whose forces amounted to fifty thousand horse; but, upon Humaioon's approach, they retreated from Kinnoge to Jionpoor. Humaioon having prevailed upon Fatie Chan, the former emperor's vizier, to join him, sent him to the king at Agra, who treated him with the utmost respect and favor, which induced several other Afghan chiefs to come over to his interest. Casim of Simbol submits.
Humaioon marches against the confederate omrahs.

A. D. 1526.
Hig. 933.

Nizam, go-
vernors of
Biana, sub-
mits.

Nizam Chan, governor of Biana, though he was now hard pressed by Rana Sinka, who wanted to make himself master of that province, still refused to submit to the king's authority, which obliged Baber to send Baba Kuli against him with a detachment, which was defeated. But Rana Sinka soon after reduced Nizam to such extremities, that he sent a deputation to Sultan Baber, begging pardon for his offence, and requesting he would support him, for which he was ready to pay him due allegiance. The king, glad of the opportunity, made no hesitation to embrace the offer, and, sending a force to drive off Rana, Nizam was put in possession of the place, which was settled upon him, with all its dependencies, for the annual payment of twenty lacks of rupees.

The gover-
nors of Gua-
lier propose
to submit.

Tatar Chan and Saring Chan, who were in possession of the fort of Gualiêr, being besieged by Muckit Roy, raja of that country, in the same manner addressed the king for succours. Baber dispatched Rehim Daad and Shech Gurin, with a detachment, which defeated the raja, but Saring Chan recalled his promise, and refused to deliver up the place. There was in the fort, at that time, a philosopher whose name was Shech Mahummud Gose, who had a great number of students under him, and who wrote to Rehim Daad, to endeavour to get permission to come himself into the fort, and that he would find means of accomplishing the rest of his desires.

Gualier
taken by a
stratagem.

Rehim Daad, for this purpose, begged leave, as he had enemies all around him, to bring his troops under protection of the garrison, for fear of a night assault, and that he might be permitted the honor of paying the philosopher a visit in the garrison. This being agreed to, Rehim Daad was received into the fort with a few attendants. He, from time to time, pretended occasion to send frequent messages in and out; till the officer of the guard troubled the governor so often for leave, that he desired Rehim Daad to send one
of

of his own servants, to point out such necessary people as he might want to have free ingress and egress. A. D. 1526.
Hig. 933.

The officer of the guard, who was a disciple of the philosopher, and who had been let into the plot, availed himself of this order, and permitted every body Rehim Daad's servant pointed out, to pass, by which means all the chosen men of the detachment were within the garrison before the entertainment was ended. Saring Chan was told to give up the place, and threatened with instant death, in case of refusal; so having satisfied himself of the circumstances, he made a virtue of necessity, and replied, That had he not intended giving up the place to the king, he would never have been so unguarded as to permit his party to take this advantage, and accordingly submitted without resistance, going in person to Agra, and entered into the king's service. Mahummud Zeiton, at the same time, arrived from Dolepoor, and had a command conferred upon him.

Not long after these transactions, Hamid Chan, Saring Chan, and other Afghans, raised, by a family quarrel, a great disturbance in the castle of Firoza. The king sent Chin Timur Sultan, Abul Fatte Turkuman, and others, against them, who chastised both parties.

In the year nine hundred and thirty three, Chajagi Affid, who had gone ambassador from Cabul to Shaw Tamas of Irack, returned, accompanied by Solimân, and brought various curiosities. But that which pleased the king most, was two beautiful female slaves, just come to maturity, of whom he became greatly enamoured. The mother of Sultan Ibrahim, who had been before the greatest favorite in the seraglio, incensed at this change in the sultan's affections, conspired with the taster and cook to poison him. The poison was accordingly administred in some hare-soup; but the king, after eat-
An attempt
to poison Ba-
ber.
ing

A. D. 1526.
Hig. 933.

The conspi-
rators pu-
nished.

ing a few spoonfuls, nauseated the taste, and immediately vomited, which saved his life. After proper enquiry had been made, the taster and cook denying their knowledge of any such thing, the king ordered a dog to be brought, who having eat of the soup, was soon seized with convulsions, and died. Two of the under cooks being also brought to the trial, expired in the same manner: upon which the taster and head cook, with several of their assistants, were put to the torture. The plot was discovered, and the mother of Sultan Ibrahim cast into prison, and all her wealth confiscated. One of Sultan Ibrahim's sons was sent, at the same time, to Cabul, where he remained in banishment.

Prince Hu-
maioon de-
feats the con-
federate om-
rahs.

Prince Humaioon, having defeated the omrahs at Jionpoor, left Sultan Sumeid Birlafs to keep those provinces in awe, and returned himself to court, having, upon his way, conciliated matters with Allum Chan, governor of Calpee, who now accompanied him, and was received with great respect.

Baber alarm-
ed by a con-
federacy
against him.

The king was, at this time, suddenly alarmed by advices that Rana Sinka, Hassen Chan Mewati, Raw Dedive of Backeri, Medini Raw of Chunderi, Mahmood Chan, the son of Sultan Secunder Lodi, and other omrahs and rajas in alliance, whose force exceeded one hundred thousand horse, were preparing to attack him. Baber, having no dependence on the Patan omrahs, who had joined him, detached them to defend different provinces, and with his own Moguls, hastened towards the enemy. His van guard falling in with their's, upon the frontiers of Biana, after a sharp conflict, were repulsed by the enemy with great loss, which struck unusual terror into the sultan's small army. Hybat Chan Neazi fled to Simbol, Hassen Chan joined the enemy, and every day brought disagreeable intelligence from all quarters. Nor did the predictions of Mahummud Sherif a little add to the general consternation.

Marches
against them.

His van de-
feated.

A general
consterna-
tion,

This

This pretended wizard averred, that Brisput * was in the east, and consequently, that whoever marched from the west should be overthrown. A. D. 1526.
Hig. 933.

The king perceiving this panic, called, immediately, a council of war. The greatest part of the officers gave it, as their opinion, that, as the superiority of the enemy was evident, it was adviseable to leave a strong garrison in Agra, and to retreat with the bulk of the army to Punjaab. A council of war.

Baber, with a discontented aspect, fixed his eyes, in silence, upon the ground. He, at length, sternly asked the omrahs, What would the world say of a monarch, whom the fear of death should oblige to abandon such a kingdom? "The voice of glory," said he, "is loud in my ear, and forbids me to disgrace my name, by giving up what my arms have, with so much difficulty, acquired. But, as death is at last unavoidable, let us rather meet him with honor, face to face, than shrink back, to gain a few years of a miserable and ignominious existence; for what can we inherit but fame, beyond the limits of the grave." The whole assembly, as if inspired by one soul, cried out, at once, "War! War!" The intrepid conduct of Baber.

The sultan, having been formerly much addicted to wine, made a vow never to drink any more, should he, upon this occasion, prove victorious. Orders were immediately issued to prohibit the sale of wine in the camp: not so much from superstition, as to keep the mind cool for action. Prohibits the use of wine in the camp.

Upon the ninth of Jimmad ul Sani, of the year nine hundred and thirty three, which happened to be Norose †, Baber formed his line of battle, with his guns and rockets in his front. In that order

* The planet Mars.

† New-Year's Day.

A. D. 1526. he moved towards the enemy, who lay at the distance of three
 Hig. 933. crores. But after he had advanced one crore he halted, and en-
 Marches to- camped his army. Several young warriors, fond of distinguishing
 wards the themselves, issued out, under the command of Mahummud Casim,
 enemy. to skirmish with the enemy's scouts and advanced guards, among
 whom they did great execution.

The enemy
 advance to
 attack him.

The sultan, next day, advanced another crore, and marked out his camp at the village of Kava, but his tents were scarcely pitched, when he perceived the enemy advancing upon him. He formed his line with great expedition, in the manner which he had practised for some days before, and, in a few minutes, was able to receive the shock of battle. The army was chiefly drawn up by Nizam ul Dien Chalipha, whom Baber reckoned his ablest general; and this order of battle being, on account of circumstances, different from the former, we shall relate it at large in this place.

The order of
 battle.

The line which, upon this occasion was single, consisted of six brigades, exclusive of the king's life guards in the center, where Baber posted himself. Before each of the brigades, a few paces in front, the sultan placed a squadron of light horse, which formed another kind of line with great intervals. In front of the whole, the artillery and rocket-waggons were drawn up in three divisions, the right, left, and center. The guns were chained together, so that there was a kind of fortification formed against the enemy's cavalry.

Arrangement
 of the troops.

The brigade immediately to the right of the center, was commanded by Chin Timur Sultan, consisting of his own tribe, and the troops of Soliman Shaw, Shaw Munfur Birlas, Durvesh Mahummud Sarban, Abdulla Kitabdar, and Dost Aisheck Aka. The brigade to the left of the center was under the immediate orders of Allum Chan, the son of Sultan Beloli, and composed of his own troops,

troops, and those of Sheick Zein Chani Siddir, Mahummud Ali Tirdi-Beg, Shere Afgan, Araish Chan, and Chaja Hassein. The two brigades of the right wing were commanded in chief by Prince Humaioon, and of these the right hand brigade consisted of the troops of Casim Hassein Sultan, Ahmed Eusoph, Hindo Beg Cochin, Chufero Cokultash, Malleck Casim, Kawam Beg, Awird Shaw, Willi Chazin, Mirza Combuzli, Peer Kulli Seistan, Chaja Pulwan Buduchshi, Abdu Shukur, Soliman Aka, the ambassador of Irack, and Hassen, the envoy of Seistan. The left hand battalion of Prince Humaioon's division was made up of the troops of Seid Meer Shech, Mahummud Kokultash, Chajagi Affid, Chan Chanan, the son of Dowlat Chan Lodi, Malleck Daood Kirrani, and Shech Gurin.

A. D. 1526.
Hig. 933.

Prince Humaioon commands the right wing,

The two brigades of the left wing were commanded by Seid Chaja; the left hand battalion of whose division was composed of the troops of Mahummud Sultan Mirza, Adil Sultan Adbul Aziz, Mahummud Alli Jung-jung, and Kuttulack Kaddim. The right hand brigade was made up of the troops of Amir Angi Mogul, Jan Beg Atka, Sittal Chan, Kumal Chan, of the race of Alla ul Dien, Sultan Alli Chan, Shech Zadda Chermilli, and Nizim Chan Biana. The light horse of the left wing were commanded by Tirdi Beg, Mumin Atka, and Rustum Turkuman; and those of the left wing by Mahmood Casim, Jifferat Chan, and Chan Bahadur. Sultan Mahummud, Buchshi*, took post before the king, with all his yessawils†, and a choice body of horse.

Seid Chaja the left,

Baber himself the center.

About ten o'clock in the forenoon the action was commenced by the artillery. The left of the enemy, charging the right of the Moguls, soon fell in hand to hand, with the battalions of Kokultash and Malleck Casim, and made them give ground. But Chin Timur, by the sultan's orders, inclining to the right with his brigade, took

The battle begins.

* Captain-General.

† Aids de Camp.

A. D. 1526.
Hig. 933.

Baber's army
surrounded.

up their ground, and falling upon the assailants with great fury, put them to flight, the light horse pursuing them with great slaughter, quite through their own line. The enemy, in the mean time, being so numerous, extended their flanks far beyond the wings of the sultan, and came down upon him from all sides. Baber ordered his right and left wing to fall back, by which means his army was thrown into a circle. In this position he resisted the repeated assaults of the Patans till three o'clock, Alla Kuli Rumi, who commanded the artillery, making great slaughter among them.

He over-
throws the
enemy.

Baber finding the enemy fatigued by their repeated assaults, determined to act offensively, to drive them quite out of the field. He therefore put himself at the head of the brigades of Chin Timur and Allum Chan, and charging them like a lion rushing from his forest, after an obstinate resistance put their whole army to flight. Hassen Chan, of Mewat, was killed with a cannon shot, and Raw Luddive Rai, Chunder Ban Chohan, Mannuk Chand Chohan, Kirim Sing, all powerful princes of the enemy, were numbered among the dead.

The sultan
assumes the
title of Gha-
zi.

The sultan, immediately after the victory, assumed the title of Ghazi*; and, as a monument to perpetuate the memory of the battle, he ordered a pyramid to be built upon an eminence near the field, which, according to the custom of his age and nation, was stuck round with the heads of the slain. The astrologer, after being severely reprimanded for his false prediction, was presented with a lack of rupees, and banished from the kingdom.

Reduces Ma-
vat.

Baber, from this fortunate field, marched towards Mavat, where Nihar Chan, the son of Hassen Chan, seeing no other means of safety, submitted himself and the country to the king. The government of Mavat was conferred upon Chin Timur Sultan.

* Ghazi signifies a warrior.

After

After these transactions, Baber returned to Agra, from whence he sent his son Humaioon to Cabul, with orders to add Balich to that province, and to rule both in his own name. A. D. 1527. Fig. 934. Humaioon sent to Cabul. Mahummud Alli, Tirdi Beg, and Kotch Beg, were ordered against Hassein Chan and Diria Chan, who still kept possession of Chandwar and Raberi. But upon the approach of the Moguls, they fled, and Hassein Chan was drowned in crossing the Jumna, while Diria Chan escaped. Mahummud Sultan Mirza was detached at the same time to Kinnoge, against Bein Afghan, who fled from thence to Cheirabad.

Upon the twenty ninth of Zihidge, in the year nine hundred and thirty four, the king marched to hunt towards Kole and Simbol. Having diverted himself with the chace for some time, he returned to his capital, and was taken ill of a fever, of which however he soon recovered. He then marched towards Chinderi, where Me- Baber invests Chinderi. deni Rai had shut himself up with a strong garrison of Rajaputs. The place was invested, and the Rajaputs sallied out, and attacked the king, but they paid dear for their rashness, and lost six thousand The besiegers defeated in a sally. men upon the field. Those who returned after this defeat into the fort, seeing no hopes of defending it longer against the enemy, according to their dreadful custom, murdered their wives and children in the following manner. They placed a sword in the hand of one Murder their wives and children, of their chiefs, and he slew the unhappy victims, who, one after another, bent, of their own accord, their necks before him; they even contended among themselves about the honor of being first slain. The soldiers then threw a yellow powder upon their garments, as on a day of festivity, and throwing loose their hair, issued forth with their swords and shields, and fought after that death, which they all obtained. The empty fort fell into the hands of the and are all slain. Moguls.

Advices were, about this time, received, that a detachment, which had been sent against the omrahs of the East, was defeated. Baber defeats the omrahs of the east. The king,

A. D. 1528. king, therefore, left Ahmed Shaw, the son of Mahummud Shaw,
 Hig. 935. and grandson of Sultan Nasir ul Dien Malavi, who had now joined him, in the government of Chinderi, and marched in person towards Kinnogi. He met his defeated troops at Raberi, and arriving at the river, he threw over it a bridge of boats. Chin Timur was ordered to cross in the front, the enemy being then on the opposite shore. After a faint resistance, the Patans gave way; but Chin Timur pursuing them, took part of their baggage, and a great number of their women and children.

Arrives at
 Agra. The king, after this victory, hunted, for a few days, upon the banks of the Gang, and then returned to Agra. He appointed Mahummud Zeman Mirza, the son of Budeli ul Zeman Mirza, of Balich, governor of the city, and, in the year nine hundred and thirty five, marched himself to survey the country. He first took the route of Gualier, and viewed there the fortifications, the stone elephant, and the palace of Raja Man Sing. He then visited the gardens of Rehim Daad, and ordered some flowers and plants, of an uncommon kind, to be transplanted to Agra. He went to worship in the great Musgid, built by Sultan Shumse ul Dien Altumsh, for whose soul he ordered prayers to be read, and returned, by another way, to Agra.

Makes a progress towards
 Gualier.

Returns to
 Agra, and

falls sick.

The sultan, soon after his return to Agra, was seized with an intermitting fever, which continued upon him for eight months. Some superstitious people advised him, during his sickness, to write a poem in praise of Chaja Abud Ahrar, one of the saints, to induce him to intercede with God for his health. Baber, though it is highly probable he did not give much credit to the power of the saint, actually wrote the poem, in the measure of Mowlani Jami, or Rimel Muffiddis.

The

The king recovered from his disorder about the eighth of Ribbi A. D. 1528.
 ul Awil. He offered up public thanks to God for the restoration of Hlig. 935.
 his health, and made a great feast upon the occasion. He distribu- Recovers.
 ted magnificent presents among the omrahs and foreign ambassadors,
 and bestowed large sums to gladden the hearts of the poor. During
 this festival, Chandamire, the author of the Habib al Sier, Mow-
 lana Shab Mammai, and Mirza Ibrahim Canooni, who came from
 Herât, and were esteemed the greatest geniuses of that age, were
 introduced to the king: He loaded them with his favors, and or- His genero-
 dered them places near his own person. city to
learned men.

Mirza Ashkari, who governed Moultan, was, this year, ordered
 to court, and having exhibited the tokens of obedience, he was
 commanded to go against Nuserit Shaw. Nuserit, hearing of the Mirza Ash-
 approach of the Moguls, sent an ambassador to the king, subjecting kari sent
 himself to the royal authority. Barhan Nizam Shaw Beri, prince against Nuse-
 of Ahmednagur, at the same time sent to congratulate Baber on his rit Shaw,
 good fortune, and proffered obedience. who submits.

Baber, towards the close of this year, received advices that Sul- Insurrections
 tan Mahmood, the son of Secunder Lodi, had possessed himself of in Behar and
 the province of Behar, and that Bellocha had erected the standard Moultan.
 of rebellion in Moultan. The king sent orders to his omrahs in the
 north-west, concerning the affairs of Moultan, and marched in per- Baber
 son towards Behar. When he arrived at Kurrah, Sultan Jellal ul marches to
 Dien Shirki prepared a royal entertainment for him, and was ho- Behar.
 nored with his presence. Mahummud Zeman Mirza was detached
 from Kurrah to the conquest of Behar. He soon drove Sultan Defeats the
 Mahmood out of the field. enemy.

But a few months after, the Afghans of Behar, collecting them-
 selves together a second time, advanced to the Gang, opposite to Hi-
 deri. The king detached Ashkari Mirza with a division of the
 troops

A. D. 1529.
Hig. 936.

troops to oppose them, and next day followed that officer with the whole army. When he came to the banks of the river, and saw the enemy on the opposite bank, he was preparing boats to cross; but Chin Timur begged permission to go before. As soon as he made his landing good with eighty horse, Mirza Ashkari, who had crossed at another place, appeared in the enemies rear; and they immediately took to flight. The king, after this action, left Sultan Junied Birlafs to prosecute the war in conjunction with Nuferit Shaw, and returned to pass the rainy season in Agra. He visited, upon his way, Shech Eiah, at Monier, the father of Shech Sherrif Moniri, and carried him to court.

Transactions
in Cabul.

Humaioon having left Mirza Hindal to govern in his absence, returned about this time from Cabul to visit his father. Sultan Seid Chan of Argund, took this opportunity of invading Buduchshan, and sent Mirza Hyder Dughelaff, to attack Minkilla. Hindal, upon the approach of the enemy, retreated into the fort of Ziffer, where he was besieged. Sultan Seid of Argund, finding that he could not reduce the place, and that the inhabitants would not join him, ravaged the country, and returned home. But as the news of his retreat had not reached Agra, the government of Buduchshan was bestowed upon Soliman Mirza, who set out immediately for that province with a letter from the king to Sultan Seid Chan, expressing his surprize at hostilities, for which he could not account, but by some misbehavior of Mirza Hindal; that, therefore, he had sent another person, who was allied to them both, to supply his place. When Soliman Mirza arrived, he found the country in perfect tranquillity, and took possession of the government, which his family have kept to this day. Mirza Hindal returned to Agra.

The sultan
falls sick,

In the year nine hundred and thirty six, the sultan fell sick, and his disorder continued daily to gain strength, in spite of the power of medicine. Despairing at last of life, he recalled his son Humaioon,

maioon, who was then besieging the fort of Callinger, and appointed him his successor. Upon Monday, the fifth of Jemmad ul Awil, in the year nine hundred and thirty seven, he resigned in peace that life which he had so often exposed in war. According to his will, his body was carried to Cabul, and interred in a holy sepulchre. A. D. 1530.
Hig. 937.

What shall we say of Baber, the wonder of the age in which he lived! He mounted a throne at twelve years of age, and, with various turns of fortune, reigned thirty eight. He was a prince of great humanity, and he carried his generosity to such excess, that it bordered upon prodigality. With respect to the first, he so often pardoned ingratitude and treason, that he seemed to make a principle of rendering good for evil. He thus disarmed vice, and made the wicked the worshipers of his virtue. His character.

His humanity and generosity.

He was of the sect of the Hanifites, in whose doctrine and tenets he was perfectly versed; yielding more to the evidence of reason, than to the marvellous legends of superstitious antiquity. He was not, however, forgetful of that rational worship which is due to the great Creator, nor a despiser of those laws and ceremonies which are founded on sound policy for the benefit of the superficial judges of things. He was a master in the arts of Poetry, Writing, and Music. He wrote his own Commentaries in the Mogul language, with such elegance and propriety, that they are universally admired. This work was translated, in the reign of Ackbar, by Chan Chanan, into the Persian language, and from it we have abridged the preceding history of the life of Baber. His religion.

His genius for the fine arts.

In his person, he was something above the middle size, nervous, and well formed. His countenance was pleasant, and in disposition he was easy, facetious, and affable.

A. D. 1530.
Hig. 937.
His justice.

To establish his reputation for justice and honor, we shall relate one instance out of many. When he was prince of Ferghana, a rich caravan of Chitta and China, which was crossing the mountains of Indija, was buried in the snow. He ordered all the goods to be collected, and sent messengers to China to proclaim the accident, and bring the owners, or their heirs, to his court. Upon their arrival, at the end of two years, he entertained them hospitably, and returned them all their goods, not only refusing to accept a present, but even to be reimbursed for his expences.

Addicted to
pleasure.

Notwithstanding his great vigor in war, he was much addicted to wine and women, and all the fashionable pleasures of courts. He sometimes used, when he had an inclination to make merry, to fill a fountain with wine, upon which was inscribed a verse to this purpose: "Jovial days! Blooming springs! Old wine, and young maidens! Enjoy freely, O Baber, for life is not twice to be enjoyed!" He then would sit down in the midst of his friends, drink freely, and feast his eyes on the daughters of beauty who danced before him.

Whithersoever he marched, or rode, he always had the road measured after him. This custom obtains with the emperors of Hindostan to this day. He made a statute concerning the measurement of distances, which has hitherto remained in force. He appointed a hundred tinnabs to one crore, each tinnab being forty guz*.

His talents
for war.

With respect to his military character, he seems to have had few that could equal him. He rendered the most dangerous enterprizes easy, by his undaunted courage and perseverance, which rose above all difficulties, and made him much more the object of admiration in his adversity, than in the height of his prosperity. Nor did he for-

* A guz is not quite an English mile,

get himself in the latter, but always behaved with that moderation and equanimity which characterizes a great soul.

A. D. 1530.
Hig. 937-

We have already traced Baber's descent from Timur; but as he was the founder of a great dynasty, it will be proper to follow his genealogy further back into antiquity. The great Chingez Chan, the son of Pissuka, the son of Pirna, had four sons of renown, who were all kings, and the fathers of nations. Their names were Oktai Chaân, Chigittai Chan, Judgi Chan, and Tooli Chan. Though Oktai Chaân was not the eldest son, yet he was, by his father, appointed his successor, and ruled in Kirrakerim and Kilwarân, which were the original territories of Chingez Chan. Oktai Chan died, by excess of wine, in the year six hundred and thirty nine.

His genealogy.

Chigittai Chan, the second son, possessed the kingdoms of Maverulnere, Tarkistân, Balich, and Buduchshan, and became the greatest of the family. Kirrachar Nuain, who was the fifth ancestor of Timur, was one of his omrahs, and, at length, captain general of all his forces. The genealogy of Kirrachar runs thus: Timur, the son of Amir Jiraghai, the son of Amir Birkit, the son of Alingar Bahadur, the son of Abhil Luiân, the son of Kirrachar Nuian, the son of Sagungi, the son of Ibumgi Berlaß, the son of Katchuli Badahur, the son of Jumnai Chan, the son of Bacfinker Chan, the son of Kidu Chan, who, by the mother's side, was descended from Bafinger, a lady, from whom Chingez Chan derived his pedigree.

The family
of Timur, or
Tamerlane.

THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN

The family
of Limon, or
Tunisian.

THE
H I S T O R Y
O F
H I N D O S T A N.

P A R T V.

The History of the Life of HUMAION,
the Son of B A B E R.

S E C T I O N I.

The reign of HUMAION, till his expulsion from
H I N D O S T A N.

NASIR ul Dien Mahummud HUMAION, immediately after the death of Baber, mounted the throne of his father, in Hindostan. He was a great astronomer, and took much delight in judicial astrology. He fitted up seven houses of entertainment, and named them after the seven planets. In each he gave public audience, according to the ruling planet of the day, ordering all the furniture, paintings, and also the dresses of those who waited upon him, to bear something that was an emblem of the tutelar star of the house. He even endeavored to suit the people, who came to pay their respects, to the supposed influence of the planet, which presided over the time of their attendance. In the house of the

A. D. 1530.
Fig. 937.
Mahummud
Humaion
a great astro-
nomer.

A. D. 1531. Moon met foreign embassadors, travellers, and poets. Military men
 Hig. 938. attended him in the house of Brisput *, and judges, lawgivers, and secretaries, were received in that of the Recorder of Heaven †.

Designs of
 his brother
 against him.

But the urgency of important affairs did not permit Humaioon to follow long these innocent whims. Such only suited the days of peace, when the mind might enjoy her harmless follies. He scarcely had ascended the throne, when his brother, Mirza Camiran, who was then in Cabul, formed a design of making himself master of Punjaab. To conceal his intentions, he gave out, that he was going to Hindostan, to congratulate Humaioon upon his accession. The king being, however, apprized of Camiran's views, by his behavior in those countries through which he passed, and being extremely unwilling to make war upon his brother, consented to let him govern Punjaab, Pishawir, Lemghan, Cabul, Candahar, and Biana. This effectually stopped the progress of Mirza Camiran.

Promotions.

The king, in the mean time, conferred the government of Mewat upon Mirza Hindal, his brother, and appointed Mirza Askari to that of Simbol, the other provinces being left in the possession of the former subas.

Humaioon
 besieges
 Callinger.

Humaioon, in the year nine hundred and thirty eight, led an army against the strong fortress of Callinger, and invested the place. While the king carried on the siege, Mahmood, the son of Sultan Secunder Lodi, in conjunction with Bein Afgan, took possession of Jionpoor, and kindled the flames of war in the east. Humaioon, having received intelligence of these commotions, decamped from before Callinger, marched to Jionpoor, in a pitched battle overthrew the Afghans, and reinstated Juneid Birlas in his former government of that province.

* The planet Mars.

† Mercury.

The sultan, after this signal victory, returned to Agra, and bestowed chelats upon above twelve thousand of his courtiers. He, in the mean time, dispatched a herald to Shere Chan, and demanded possession of the fortrefs of Chinâr *, which being refused, the sultan marched his army that way. When Humaioon lay before Chinâr, he was informed, that Sultan Bahadur, of Guzerat, had turned towards him the points of his spears. This obliged him to patch up a kind of a peace with Shere Chan, and to return towards Agra. Cuttub Chan, the son of Shere Chan, whom the emperor had taken as an hostage, found means, on the way, to make his escape, and to return to his father at Chinâr.

A. D. 1531.
Hig. 938.

Demands
possession of
Chinâr.

Mahummud Ziman Mirza, the grandson of Sultan Houssein Mirza, aspired to the throne, and was supported in his pretensions by the omrahs of Chigittai. The plot was discovered, and the leader of the conspiracy pardoned: But Humaioon finding him, a second time, meditating treasonable practices, he ordered him to be confined in the fortrefs of Biana. Orders were given to put out the eyes of Mahummud Sultan and Nuherit Mirza, for being the principal abettors of the prince's ambitious designs; but the person to whom it was intrusted to inflict this punishment, saved the eyes of the former, while the latter found means to escape to Guzerat. Mahummud Sultan, by the aid of his sons Ali Mirza and Shaw Mirza, who formed a party, was carried away to Kinnoge, where he was joined by about six thousand Moguls, Afghans, and Rajaputs.

A conspiracy
discovered.

Humaioon sent to Bahadur, the governor of Kinnoge, and commanded him to deliver up Mahummud, but he rejected the orders in an insolent manner, which obliged the emperor to march against him. Bahadur had, about this time, resolved to wrest the fort of

Rebellion at
Kinnoge.

* Chinâr is a very strong fortrefs in the province of Oud, within seven crores of Benaris; Both Shere Chan and Sultan Bahadur were governors under the former empire, and had, after the death of Ibrahim, assumed independence.

A. D. 1532.
Hig. 939.

Chitor from Rana Bickermagit. Rana threw himself under the protection of Humaioon; but the emperor, for what reason is not known, having advanced as far as Gualier, encamped there for two months, and returned, without effecting any thing, to Agra. Rana Bickermagit, despairing of relief, sent a crown, and a considerable sum of money, to Bahadur, which induced him to raise the siege.

Sultan Bahadur

Sultan Bahadur, whose affairs were now in a very prosperous situation, by the reduction of Mendu, and other places, began to shew his contempt of Humaioon, by advancing the conspirator Mahumud to great honors. He also prompted Sultan Alla ul Dien, the son of the emperor Beloli Lodi, to attempt to possess himself of the throne of Delhi. He, for this purpose, made Tatar Chan, the son of Sultan Alla ul Dien, his general, and dispatched him, with forty thousand men, against Humaioon, with which he subdued Biana, and advanced to the environs of Agra.

sends an army against Humaioon,

which is totally defeated.

This pressing danger awaked the king from his lethargy. He immediately sent Mirza Hindal, with a force, to oppose Tatar Chan. When the armies approached one another, there was so great a desertion from Tatar's troops, that, in the space of ten days, ten thousand horse scarce remained to him. He however resolved, with these, to stand his ground, and give battle to the imperial army, but he was totally overthrown, lost the most of his troops, three hundred officers of distinction, and his own life. Mirza Hindal, after this victory, retook Biana, and all the other places which had before fallen into the hands of the enemy, and returned in triumph to Agra.

Bahadur marches against Chitor.

Sultan Bahadur, in the year nine hundred and forty, marched, a second time, towards Chitor; and, in the mean time, Humaioon ordered a fort to be built in Delhi, on the banks of the Jumna, which he called Dien Panna. He, soon after, marched towards Saringpoor,

Saringpoor, which then held of Bahadur, as sultan of Guzerat, and wrote to him a punning couplet, unworthy of the dignity and majesty of a king. Chitor, in the Persian language, signifies, *in what manner*; and upon this was founded the miserable witticism contained in the verses. The words were, "O thou plunderer of the city of Chitor! *in what manner* canst thou conquer the idolaters? For when thou wouldst wish to conquer Chitor; thou know'st not *in what manner* the king comes to conquer thee."

A. D. 1533.
Hig. 940.
Humaioon
sends him a
punning
letter.

Bahadur answered Humaioon in his own strain, and in the following words: "I, who am the plunderer of Chitor, will conquer the idolaters by valor; and he who dares not succour Chitor, shall see *in what manner* he himself shall be conquered." The wit is wretched on both sides; but he who began the pun is most to blame.

Bahadur's
answer.

Sultan Bahadur, after sending the above billet to Humaioon, called a council of war. It was the opinion of the majority, that as Humaioon had all his force with him, it were better to raise the siege, and march against him, and thus to take up the war by the roots. Others urged, that Humaioon was so rigid in his religious principles, that he would not disturb them in their war with idolaters; that therefore it was most adviseable to finish the siege, which was now far advanced, and afterwards to think of other matters.

Calls a council of war.

Bahadur himself favoured the latter opinion. The siege was accordingly continued; and Humaioon, piquing himself upon his religious principles, continued loitering at Saringpoor, till Sultan Bahadur had taken the fort. Bahadur, in the year nine hundred and forty one, marched with great expedition against Humaioon, who, hearing of his approach, marched forward to meet him. The two armies appeared in front of each other, near Munfoor. Sultan Bahadur, who had collected a great train of artillery, by advice of his engineer,

Takes Chitor
and marches
against the
emperor.

A. D. 1534.
Hig. 941.
Entrenches
his army.

engineer, Romi Chan, entrenched his army, and placed his cannon in redoubts, in his front. This prevented Humaioon from risking an attack, and both armies continued in sight of one another for the space of two months. Daily skirmishes were, in the mean time, fought, with various success.

Humaioon
cuts off his
supplies.

Humaioon, finding that he could not draw Bahadur out of his trenches, employed all his attention to cut off his supplies. He ordered his horse, in successive bodies of five or six thousand, to scour the rear of the enemy, by which means famine began soon to be severely felt in their camp; men, horses, elephants, and camels, perishing daily in great numbers.

Cowardice
and flight of
Bahadur.

Bahadur, instead of making one brave effort to relieve himself, permitted base fear and despair to seize upon him; and, with only five friends, left his camp in the night, and fled towards Mindu. This was no sooner known, than the flight became general; the chiefs dispersing themselves, with their adherents. Humaioon, in the morning, ordered the pursuit to commence, which was continued, as far as Mindu, with great slaughter of the unfortunate wretches, who had neither the power to escape, nor the means to defend themselves. Bahadur threw himself into Mindu, and the place was closely invested.

His army is
routed,
and he him-
self besieged
in Mindu.

Mindu taken
by surprize.

In a few days, three hundred Moguls scaled the walls of Mindu, in the night; and though the garrison consisted of many thousands, such was their panic, that they all betook themselves to flight. Bahadur escaped to Chapanier, which was then the capital of Guzerat, while Sidder Chan, his Amir ul Omrah, who was dangerously wounded, not able to proceed farther, shut himself up in the fort of Sunkar, where, being besieged, he capitulated the second day, and was, on account of his excellent character, received into great favor. Sidder Chan, during the pursuit, saved Sultan Bahadur, when

Bravery of
Humaioon
and Sidder
Chan.

when almost taken by Humaioon, by throwing himself in between the kings, till his master had an opportunity of making his escape. A. D. 1534. Hig. 941. But he himself was attacked with such violence by the king, in person, that, after receiving many wounds, he got off with great difficulty.

The king, three days after the taking of Mindu, renewed the pursuit after Sultan Bahadur, who, having taken all his treasure and jewels out of Mahummud Abad and Chapanier, fled towards Amudabad. The king, giving up the city of Chapanier to plunder, and committing the siege of the citadel, which still held out, to Dowlat Chaja Birlafs, continued to pursue Bahadur. Humaioon pursues Sultan Bahadur. The unfortunate sultan, hearing of his approach, fled to Cambait, but Humaioon pursuing him thither, he retired to the island of Deo, Humaioon arriving in Cumbait, the very evening of the same day in which Bahadur forsook it.

Humaioon remained a few days in this place, but hearing that the sultan's wealth was mostly in the citadel of Chapanier, he returned to carry on that siege. Returns to the siege of Chapanier. Achtiar Chan, who commanded in the place, defended it with great bravery. But though he had some years provision in the fort, he was covetous of more, and took in daily supplies from a certain part of the citadel, which was covered by a thick wood.

The king, one day, reconnoitring the place, observed the proceedings of Achtiar Chan, with regard to the provisions. His stratagem. He immediately seized upon a party of country people who carried the supplies through the woods. He persuaded, or rather commanded them, to carry him, in disguise, to the place. They had admittance. The king made the necessary remarks, returned to his camp, and the same night ordered a parcel of iron spikes to be made.

A. D. 1535.
Hig. 942.
By a gallant
exploit,
takes Cha-
panier.

He himself, with three hundred select men, went to the place, while feigned attacks were made upon every other quarter of the fort. As the access to this part of the fortress was extremely difficult, the attention of the enemy was entirely drawn towards the different assaults. This furnished the king with an opportunity of fixing his iron spikes in the wall, by which means thirty-nine officers mounted, and the king himself made the fortieth. Before sun-rise his whole detachment was within the walls, when he displayed a signal which had been previously settled with his troops. They accordingly made a violent assault upon all sides, and Humaioon, in the mean time, at the head of his detachment, cried out, Alla Akbar! * and forcing his way, sword in hand, through the enemy, possessed himself of one of the gates: he immediately opened it, and admitted his troops, and all, except Achtiar Chan and his family, who were in an outwork, were put to the sword. The governor defended himself so bravely, that he obtained a capitulation.

Divides the
spoil among
his troops.

The great strength of this place, the numerous garrison, and the boldness of the attempt by which it fell, rendered this action of the king, equal, in the opinion of all mankind, to any thing of the like nature recorded in history. Here the treasure of Guzerat, which had been collected in the course of many years, was distributed among the troops. He gave to the officers and soldiers what wealth could be heaped upon their respective shields, proportioning the value of the things to their rank and merit. All the wealth of Room, Chitta, and Frîng†, which had been there collected, to a vast amount, was delivered over to plunder.

Bahadur Sul-
tan levies
forces.

Sultan Bahadur having secured himself in Deo, sent Amad ul Muluck Chirkufs to Ahmedabad, to collect the revenues, and levy

* That is, God is greatest.

† The Turkish Empire, China, and Europe.

troops.

troops. He found himself soon at the head of fifty thousand men, and was daily gaining strength and reputation. Humaioon having intelligence of the transactions of Bahadur, appointed Tirdi Beg to command the fort of Chapanier, and the adjacent countries, and marched in person with his army towards Ahmedabad. Amad ul Muluck drew out his army to oppose him, and falling in with the vanguard of the imperialists, commanded by Mirza Ashkari, he was defeated before the rest of the army could be brought up to the engagement.

A. D. 1535.
Hig. 942.

His army
overthrown.

The king, for this signal service, appointed Mirza Ashkari governor of the splendid city of Ahmedabad. He divided then the provinces of Guzerat among his omrahs, and marched against Burhanpoor. Burhan Nizam Shaw, Amud ul Muluck, and the other princes of the Decan, apprehensive of his designs to reduce Chan-dez, wrote to him letters of submission and allegiance.

Humaioon
reduces all
Guzerat.

These letters had scarce arrived, when the news of the insurrection of Shere Chan came to the king. He, however, reduced all the countries about Burhanpoor, then marched round to Mindu. Amud ul Muluck, in the mean time, in conjunction with the omrahs of Guzerat, began again to acquire strength, and marched, with an army, towards Ahmedabad.

The insur-
rection under
Shere Chan.

Humaioon, in the mean time, invested Chinari, and reduced it, after a siege of six months. Having then gained the passes, he entered Bengal. Shere Chan, in the mean time, carried away the treasure of the princes of Gour and Bengal, whom he had reduced, and fled to the mountains of Jarcund. The king continued his march to Gour, the capital of Bengal, took it, and commanded it to be called Ginnitabad *. Having resided in that city for the space of three months, he was obliged, on account of the moist air of that

* The paradisial city.

A. D. 1539.
Hig. 946. country, by which the greatest part of his army fell sick, as well as by the rebellion of Mirza Hindal at Agra, to return.

The brothers
disagree.

Mirza Hindal, the King's brother, was sent to suppress Mahumud Sultan Mirza, who, we have already observed, had escaped to Kinnoge. But instead of performing that service, he, as soon as he saw himself at the head of an army, began to aspire to the throne. He accordingly marched back to Agra, where he discovered his treasonable intentions, by putting some of the principal people, who rejected his authority, to death. He thus enforced obedience, and throwing away every disguise, ordered the chutba to be read in his own name, and, with all the ensigns of royalty, marched to Delhi, and besieged it.

The king, having heard of these proceedings, left Jehangire Beg and Ibrahim Beg to command in Bengal, and hastened towards Agra. When he was about half way, Mahummud Zeman Mirza, who had formerly joined Sultan Bahadur, returned from Sind, and, being promised a pardon, joined the king with a considerable party. In the mean time, Shere Chan, finding the king's army so much weakened by sickness and desertion, and his affairs further perplexed by the rebellion of Mirza Hindal, marched with his troops from Rotas, and came behind the king on the Joffa *. Both armies lay three months inactive, at a time when the king ought to have run all hazards, being every day insulted, and more and more distressed by the enemy, who prevented his crossing the river.

Mirza Cami-
ran mounts
the throne in
Agra.

To add still to Humaioon's misfortunes, his other brother, Mirza Camiran, instead of assisting him, ungenerously aspired to his throne, and marched, with ten thousand horse, from Lahore. When he arrived at Delhi, Mirza Hindal prevailed upon him, to join his forces with his own, after which they both continued the siege.

* Perhaps the Sone, or Carimnassa.

Fuchir ul Dien Alli, who commanded in the city, acquainted Mirza Camiran, that he could never think of betraying his trust, and rather than be so ungrateful to his prince, he was determined to hold out to the last drop of his blood; but, that, if he would first possess himself of the capital of Agra, and entirely subdue his brother, he would then, and not till then, give up the city of Delhi. When Mirza Camiran and his brother found him so determined, and that the siege would cost them much blood and time, they set out together for Agra.

A. D. 1539.
Hig. 946.

When they had reached the environs of that city, the jealousy, which the brothers naturally entertained of each other, the eyes of both being turned towards the throne, broke out into open war. Mirza Hindal, being deserted by many of his party, fled to Alwir, with five thousand horse, and three hundred elephants; and Mirza Camiran, entering Agra, assumed all the imperial ensigns.

Sultan Humaioon endeavored, by every possible argument with his brothers, to bring about a coalition of interests against Shere Chan, telling them, that their family quarrels would certainly, in the end, lose them that mighty empire, which had cost their father so much pains to conquer, and involve the family of Chigittai in one common ruin; that it was, therefore, adviseable to join against the common enemy, and afterwards divide the empire amongst themselves. These arguments had no weight with his brothers, who were so blinded by ambition, that they were determined rather to lose all, than be contented with a part. They vainly hoping that after Shere Chan had defeated Sultan Humaioon, they should be able to subdue Shere Chan; and each had the folly to suppose, that he should be able to exclude the other, and so reign alone.

Humaioon
endeavors to
bring over
his brothers
to his interest.

They reject
his proposals.

At this juncture, Shere Chan sent Shech Chelili, a dervish of great reputation, to Sultan Humaioon, to treat about a peace, which

Humaioon
makes peace
with Shere
Chan.

A. D. 1539.
Hig. 946.

which the king accepted, with gladness, upon the following conditions: That Shere Chan should content himself with Bengal and Behar, which he was to hold in the king's name, paying a small acknowledgment.

Treachery
of Shere
Chan.

When the conditions were signed and ratified by mutual oaths, Humaioon, trusting too much to the faith of his enemy, permitted a free intercourse between both armies. This was what the perfidious Shere Chan aimed at by the peace. He accordingly, next morning, surprized the sultan's camp, before day-break, and totally defeated him. As the bridge of boats, which the sultan had been preparing, was not finished, there was no way of escape left, but by plunging into the river; all the boats being seized by a part of the enemy, who had turned the rear of the emperor's army. Humaioon, his nobles, and a great part of his army, were forced into the stream, where eight thousand Moguls, exclusive of Hindoos, were drowned, among whom was Mahummud Ziman Mirza. This terrible overthrow happened to Humaioon in the year nine hundred and forty six.

Humaioon
totally over-
thrown.

Escapes to
Agra.

The king, by the assistance of a waterman, having with great difficulty swam across the river, with a few who had survived the slaughter of this dreadful day, fled to Agra. Mirza Camiran hearing of this defeat, hastened from Agra to Alwir, to consult with his brother, Mirza Hindal. Finding that now the Afghans were likely to prevail, they were ashamed of their behavior to their brother, and, when it was too late, thought proper to support him. In the mean time, all the Mogul omrahs who were dispersed in the provinces, seeing that the power of their nation had sustained such a violent shock, found it also necessary to unite their strength. They accordingly hastened from all quarters to Agra; Jehangire Beg, and Ibrahim Beg, having left Bengal, and even Mahummud Sultan Mirza,

He is joined
by his bro-
thers.

Mirza, who had rebelled in Kinnoge, joined now in the general A. D. 1540.
Hig. 947. cause against the Afghans.

The three brothers having met at Agra, held daily consultations; Quarrels between the brothers. but Mirza Camiran, who was not earnest in reconciling their different interests, brought all their councils to nothing, and proposed to return to Lahore, to which resolution he was very much instigated by Chaja Callan Beg. Sultan Humaioon used every argument to prevent his departure; but the ambitious Camiran was determined to be every thing himself, or to give no assistance to his brother.

These impolitic disputes had lasted six months, when Mirza Camiran was seized with a false appetite, which he too much indulged, and consequently became afflicted with a lientery, which he imputed to poison given him by his brothers. He immediately set out for Mirza Camiran forsakes the king. Lahore, leaving a thousand horse with Secunder Sultan, under pretence of assisting his unfortunate brother. The inhabitants of Agra were greatly discouraged at Camiran's departure, so that many of them, fearing the issue of the war, accompanied him. Mirza Hyder, disgusted with this behavior, staid behind, and joined Humaioon, to whom he was of great service.

Shere Chan, who had remained quiet during these disputes, now Shere Chan advances to the Gang. advanced with an army to the banks of the Gang, and detaching his son Cuttub Chan over the river, possessed himself of the adjacent provinces.

Humaioon having received intelligence of these motions, ordered Cassim Hassein Sultan Usbeck, in conjunction with Eadgar Mirza and Secunder Sultan, against him, with a great army. They met the enemy near Calpie, where an obstinate engagement was fought, The imperial generals defeat and slay Cuttub Chan. in which victory declaring for the Moguls, Cuttub Chan, with a great

A. D. 1540.
Hig. 947.

great part of his army, was cut off, and his head sent to Agra. The generals, at the same time, invited the king to come and have the honor of conquering Shere Chan in person.

Humaioon
marches
against Shere
Chan.

Is deserted
by a great
part of his
army,

Humaioon accordingly marched with a hundred thousand horse, and crossing the Gang, near Kinnoge, sat down for the space of a month before the army of Shere Chan, which consisted of little more than half his number. In the mean time, Mahummud Sultan Mirza, and his sons, who were remarkable for their treachery and ingratitude, fled to the enemy, with all their adherents, drawing many more after them, which again plunged the sultan into distress; for his army being dispirited, began to desert by thousands. To complete his misfortunes, the rainy season now commenced, and his camp was quite overflowed with water, insomuch that the tents seemed afloat. The king therefore resolved to move his camp to higher ground.

and over-
thrown.

On the tenth of Mohirrim, nine hundred and forty seven, he put his army in motion. He was attacked by Shere Chan on his march, and defeated with great slaughter. Having unfortunately, as in the former action, the river then close to his rear, the flight turned that way, and some thousands, to avoid the swords of the enemy, chose a more ignominious death in the water. A few only escaped with the king over the river, with whom he fled to Agra; the rest submitted themselves to the conquerors, or dispersed by various routs.

Shere Chan
advances to
Agra.

Pursues the
king,

Shere Chan, immediately after this victory, advanced towards Agra. The king was forced to retreat to Lahore, and on the first of Rubbi ul Awil, of that year, joined the greatest part of his Mogul omrahs, who had been dispersed since the action. Shere Chan still continuing the pursuit, to make the best use of his victory, crossed the river of Jullanpoor, upon which the sultan, upon the first

first of Rigib, passed the river of Lahore, and retreated towards Tatta and Bicker. Mirza Camiran, now sensible of his ungenerous and impolitic behavior, was himself obliged to fly towards Cabul, and saw an empire wrested from his family, by the effects of that base envy, which could not behold even a brother's greatness without pain.

A. D. 1541.
Hig. 948.
who takes
the route of
Tatta.

Humaioon having crossed the Sind, on his way to Bicker, halted at Lori, and sent an ambassador, with a horse and dress to Mirza Shaw Hassein, governor of Tatta, to request his aid, that he might be able to possess himself of Guzerat. Mirza Shaw Hassein seeming to listen to his request, detained the king, by various artifices and excuses, for five months, by which means his small army, distressed for want of pay, daily diminished in numbers. Mirza Hindal, his brother, in the mean time, left him, and went to Candahar, being invited thither, by Kirrachi Chan, governor of that province. Mirza Eadgar Nasir proposed, at the same time, to quit Humaioon, but this unfortunate king, took great pains to keep him firm to his interest, giving him the government of Bicker. But he had no sooner taken possession of that place, than he began to strengthen himself, and to hatch treason.

His embassy
to the gover-
nor of Tatta.

His brother
Hindal de-
serts the
king.

Humaioon, in the mean time, had, with his little army, laid siege to Sewan, for seven months, without effect, when Shaw Hassein, desirous of getting the place into his own hands, advanced, with a great force, from Tatta, and surrounding both the garrison and the besiegers, prevented supplies from being carried to either. Humaioon's army were soon greatly distressed, as well as the garrison. The king, driven to extremities, requested Mirza Eadgar to join him, with what forces he had in Bicker; but this ungrateful man chose rather to be prevailed upon to join Mirza Shaw Hassein, who promised him his daughter, and to secure him in his government. He immediately deserted the king's interest, at this dangerous crisis, and Humaioon was obliged to retreat precipitately from before Sewan, towards Bicker.

Humaioon
besieges
Sewan.

His great
distress.

He flies to-
wards Bicker.

A. D. 1541.
Hig. 948. He could not even obtain, in that place, a few boats, from his own perfidious subjects, to waft his small army over the river. After a search of some days, and wandering along the banks, he discovered some boats that had been sunk, raised them, and transported his troops to the other side.

Notwithstanding this accumulation of misfortunes, Humaioon had strength enough left to strike terror in Eadgar Nasir Mirza, who, to avoid his resentment, came and made his submission. The necessity of the times obtained his pardon; but, in return for Humaioon's clemency, he began to raise sedition among his troops, and privately to draw them over to his own interest. This treason being communicated to the king, the traitor, upon being taxed with it, appeared at the head of his troops, in open rebellion. But the principal officers of the rebellious faction refused to attack their king, so that an action was prevented, when both parties were formed in order of battle.

The king being in no condition, at that juncture, to contend with the rebel, thought it high time to provide for his own safety elsewhere. He therefore marched, by the way of Jasselmere, to Raja Maldeo, then the most potent Hindoo prince in Hindostan, having before received an invitation from him. But as he was passing through the territories of Jasselmere, the raja of that country sent a force to oppose him. The king defeated them, and passed on to the boundaries of Maldeo, where he halted, and sent a messenger to the raja.

But few keep faith with a king, when he is under the cloud of misfortunes. Maldeo, seeing he had nothing to fear from Humaioon, found in his own mind no principle to love him; he therefore resolved, if possible, to seize the king, and send him to Shere Shaw. One of Maldeo's servants, who had formerly lived under Humaioon, having intelligence of this design, immediately informed the king.

Humaioon

Humaioon mounted his horse, at midnight, and fled towards Amercot, which is about one hundred crores from Tatta. His horse, on the way, falling down dead with fatigue, he desired Tirdi Beg, who was well mounted, to let him have his; but so ungenerous was this man, and so low was royalty fallen, that he refused to comply with his request. The troops of the raja being close to his heels, he was necessitated to mount a camel, till one Nidim Koka, dismounting his own mother, gave the king her horse, and placing her on the camel, ran himself on foot by her side.

A. D. 1541.
Hig. 948.
He flies.

The country, through which they fled, being an entire sandy desert, the troops began to be in the utmost distress for water. Some ran mad, others fell down dead; nothing was heard but dreadful screams and lamentations. To add, if possible, to this calamity, news arrived of the enemy's near approach. Humaioon ordered all those who could fight to halt, and let the women and baggage move forward. The enemy not making their appearance, the king rode on in front, to see how it fared with his family.

His great
distress.

Calamitous
situation of
his retinue.

Night, in the mean time, coming on, the rear lost their way, and in the morning were attacked by a party of the enemy. Shech Ali, with about twenty brave men, resolved to sell his life dear. Having repeated the creed of Martyrdom, he rushed upon the enemy, and the first arrow having reached the heart of the chief of the party, the rest were, by the valor of this handful, put to flight. The other Moguls joined in the pursuit, and took many of their camels and horses. They then continued their march, found the king sitting by a well, which he had fortunately found, and gave him an account of their adventure.

Gallant ex-
ploit of
Shech Ali.

Marching forward, the next day, from this well, they were more distressed than before, there being no water for two days journey. On the fourth day of their retreat, they fell in with another well,

The king's
dreadful situ-
ation for
want of
water.

A. D. 1542. which was so deep, that the only bucket they had, took a great deal
 Hig. 949. of time in being wound up, and therefore a drum was beat to give notice to the caffilas when the bucket appeared, that they might repair by turns to drink. The people were so impatient for the water, that as soon as the first bucket appeared, ten or twelve of them threw themselves upon it, before it quite reached the brim of the well, by which means the rope broke, and the bucket was lost, and several fell headlong after it. When this fatal accident happened, the screams and lamentations of all became loud and dreadful. Some lolling out their tongues, rolled themselves, in agony, on the hot sand; while others, precipitating themselves into the well, met with an immediate, and consequently an easier death. What did not the unhappy king feel, when he saw this terrible situation of his few faithful friends!

The next day, though they reached water, was not less fatal than the former. The camels, who had not tasted water for several days, now drank so much, that the greatest part of them died. The people also, after drinking, complained of an oppression of the heart, and in about half an hour a great part of them expired.

Arrives, and
 is humanely
 received at
 Amercot.

A few, with the king, after this unheard of distress, reached Amercot. The raja being a humane man, took compassion on their misfortunes. He spared nothing that could alleviate their miseries, or express his fidelity to the king.

Humaioon
 marches
 against Bick-
 er,

At Amercot, upon Sunday the fifth of Rigib, in the year nine hundred and forty nine, the prince Ackbar was brought forth, by Hamida Banu Begum. The king, after returning thanks to God, left his family under the protection of Raja Rana, and, by the aid of that prince, marched against Bicker. But a mutiny arising among the troops, they dispersed, so that nothing could be effected. Some of the king's own omrahs deserted him, and the gallant Shech Ali, one of his principal

principal adherents, was killed in an action in which Humaioon was defeated. The king fled towards Kandahar, and was, on his way, joined by Byram Chan, from Guzerat. Mirza Camiran had, at that time, taken the fortress of Kandahar from his brother, Mirza Hindal; and Mirza Ashkari governed there by his appointment. Mirza Shaw Haffein wrote to Mirza Ashkari, that the king was in the utmost distress, and that if he would now favor him, so meritorious an action could not be forgot. Ashkari, instead of listening to this request, attacked the king when he approached, obliging him to leave behind him his son, and fly himself, with the Sultana Mariam Muckani, and only twenty-two horse, to Chorrassan. Mirza Ashkari expressed great sorrow at the king's escape, and plundering all his effects, carried the young prince Ackbar to Kandahar.

A. D. 1542.
Hig. 949.
is defeated,
and flies to-
wards Kan-
dahar.

Is obliged to
fly to Chor-
rassan.

The king, by repeated trials, found that he could place no faith in his brothers. When he arrived upon the frontiers of Seistan, he was met by Ahmed Sultan Shamlu, who was there governor on the part of Shaw Tamasp ul Housseini, of Iran. He brought Humaioon to Seistan, and treated him with the greatest respect, presenting him with all the money he was worth, and furnishing the sultana with slaves. The king received just what supplied his occasions, and returned the rest. He from thence set out for Hêrat, and was, in that city, met by Sultan Mahummud, the king of Persia's eldest son. This prince forgot nothing of that generosity and politeness which so remarkably distinguished his character. He provided the unfortunate exile very effectually with all necessaries for his journey to court. In his progress towards the capital of Iran, all the governors of the provinces and great men paid him their compliments, and made magnificent entertainments for him. When he arrived at Kizvi, he dispatched Byram Chan to the Persian king, at Ispahan, and waited his answer. Let us now leave Humaioon, to give an account of the transactions in Hindostan, during his exile.

Is received
kindly by the
Persian go-
vernor of
Seistan,

and by the
king of Per-
sia's son.

SECTION

SECTION II.

History of S H E R E S H A W, before his accession to the imperial throne.

A. D. 1542.
Hig. 949.
Shere Shaw's
family,

THE original name of Shere Shaw was Ferîd. His father was Haffin, of the Soor tribe of the Afghans of Roh. When Sultan Beloli placed his foot on the musnud of empire, the grandfather of Shere Shaw, Ibrahim Soor, came to Delhi in quest of military service.

of the Af-
ghans of
Roh.

The original seat of the Afghans was Roh. This word, in their language, signifies a mountainous country. It extended, they say, in length, from Sewad and Bijore, to the town of Sui in the dominions of Buckurast, and in breadth, from Haffin Abdal to Rabul. This tract, in its fertile vallies, contained many separate tribes; among the number of these was that of Soor, who derive themselves from the princes of Ghor. One of the sons of the Ghorian family, whose name was Mahummud Soor, having left his native country, placed himself among the Afghans of Roh, and was the father of the tribe of Soor, which was esteemed the noblest among them.

Ibrahim Soor
arrives at
Delhi,

Ibrahim Soor, arriving at Delhi, engaged himself in the service of an omrah of the court of Beloli. When the empire fell to Secunder, Jemmal Chan an omrah was appointed suba of Jionpoor, who took Haffin, the son of Ibrahim, in his retinue. He found him a youth of parts, and favored him so much, that, in a short time, he gave him the pergunnahts of Sehfarâm and Chawasspoor Tanda, in jagier, for which he was to maintain five hundred horse. Haffin had eight sons; Ferîd and Nizâm of one mother, of a Patan family; the other sons were born of slaves.

his son Haffin
obtains a ja-
gier.

Haffin

Hassen had no great love for his wife, and he therefore neglected her sons. Ferîd, upon this, left his father's house, and enlisted himself a soldier in the service of Jemmal Chan. Hassen wrote to Jemmal Chan * upon this occasion, requesting him to send back his son, that he might be educated. But all that Jemmal Chan could say had no effect upon Ferîd. Jionpoor, he said, was a better place for instruction, than Sehſaram; and he affirmed that he would attend to letters of his own accord. This he did to so much purpose, that he soon could repeat the works of Shech Sadi, and was, besides, a proficient in all the learning of the country. He, however, employed most of his time in history and poetry, being supported by the liberality of Jemmal Chan.

A. D. 1542,
Hig. 949.
Ferid flies
from his fa-
ther's house.

Applies him-
self to letters.

After three or four years had passed, Hassen came to Jionpoor, and, by the mediation of friends, the father and son were reconciled. Hassen gave Ferîd the charge of his jagier, and remained himself at Jionpoor. Ferîd, when he took leave of his father, said, "That the stability of government depended on justice, and that it would be his greatest care not to violate it, either by oppressing the weak, or permitting the strong to infringe the laws with impunity." When he arrived at his jagier, he actually put this resolution in practice, by rendering justice to the poor, and reducing to order such of his zemindars as opposed his authority. He, by this means, had his revenues punctually paid, and his country well cultivated. His reputation grew apace; for all his actions discovered uncommon genius and resolution.

Is reconciled
with his fa-
ther,

Hassin coming to visit the pergunnahs, was extremely pleased with the management of his son, and therefore continued him in his office. But the father had a slave by whom he had three sons, Soliman, Ahmed, and Mudda, and the old man was extremely fond of her. She told him, that now her son Soliman was grown up,

who is pleas-
ed with his
behavior.

* Suba of Jionpoor.

A. D. 1542.
Hig. 949.

He resigns
the manage-
ment of the
jagier.

Goes to
Agra.

and that he ought to provide for him. She, day after day, continued to teaze Haffin for the superintendency of the pergunnahs for Soliman. This gave the old omrah great concern, knowing the superior abilities of Ferîd. The son, hearing that the domestic peace of his father was destroyed, by the importunities of his favorite, made a voluntary resignation of his trust, which was accordingly conferred upon Soliman.

Ferîd, and his brother Nizam, set out immediately for Agra, and entered into the service of Dowlat Chan, one of the principal omrahs of Sultan Ibrahim. Ferîd, by his good behavior, soon insinuated himself into his master's affection. Dowlat desired him, one day, to tell him what he was most desirous to obtain, and that he would use his interest with the sultan in his favor. Ferîd replied, That his father was now in his dotage, and wholly guided by an artful mistress, who had deprived both himself and his brother of their patrimonial inheritance, and had procured their jagier for her own spurious offspring. That if Dowlat would, therefore, by his interest at court, procure the jagier-sonnad in his name, he would promise to provide for his father, and maintain five hundred good horse for the service of the empire.

The emperor
refuses to
grant him his
father's ja-
gier,

which, upon
his father's
death, he ob-
tains.

Dowlat Chan accordingly preferred this request to the sultan, who replied, That he must be a bad man indeed, who reviled and undermined his own father. Dowlat Chan retired in silence, and acquainted him of the answer he had received, but comforted Ferîd, by telling him that he would take another opportunity to urge his request. In the mean time, the father of Ferîd died, and Dowlat Chan obtained the emperor's grant, with which the two brothers set out to Seharam with a grand retinue.

Soliman, upon the arrival of his brothers, evacuating the country, went off to Mahummud Chan Soor, who held the pergunnah of Chond,

Chond, and kept up a force of fifteen hundred horse, and complained of the behavior of Ferîd. Mahummud Chan told him, that Baber, having invaded Hindostan, a war between him and Sultan Ibrahim was unavoidable. That, therefore, if he should accompany him when called to the imperial army, he would endeavor to get him redress. Soliman was too impatient to wait so long in suspense. Mahummud Chan, therefore, sent a person to Ferîd, to treat about a reconciliation. Ferîd replied, That he was willing to give him a proper share of his father's inheritance, but that he must be excused from parting with any of his power; repeating, at the same time, the old adage, That two swords could never rest in one scabbard.

A. D. 1542.
Hig. 949.
His brother
Soliman
complains of
him to Ma-
humud
Soor;

Soliman could not be satisfied with sharing the government, and therefore nothing was settled between the brothers. This irritated Mahummud Chan so much, that he resolved to compel him to the measures which he himself had proposed. Ferîd being informed of this resolution, began to provide for his own security; but news arriving of Sultan Ibrahim's death, the whole country was thrown into confusion. Ferîd resolved not to lie idle in the midst of the troubles which ensued. He joined Pâr Chan, the son of Diria Chan Lohani, who had subdued Behar, and assumed the royal dignity, under the name of Sultan Mahummud, or Mahmood. As the sultan was one day on a hunting party, he roused an enormous tiger; which Ferîd immediately attacked and killed with one blow of his sabre. For this bold action, which was done in the sultan's presence, he was honored with the title of Shere Chan *.

who forms
designs a-
gainst him.

Ferîd obtains
the title of
Shere Chan.

Shere Chan rose gradually to great influence and favor, in the sultan's service. He was even appointed tutor to the sultan's son, Jellal Chan. He, in the mean time, requested permission to go to his jagier, but he was detained there by business, till his leave of ab-

* Shere signifies a lion.

A. D. 1542. fence expired. Sultan Mahummud, dissatisfied with this behavior,
 Hig. 949.

He is accused
 to Sultan
 Mahmood.

reproached him, one day in public, with breach of promise; and Mahummud Chan, an omrah, being present, took that opportunity of accusing him of treasonable designs, and with favoring the interest of Sultan Mamood, the son of Sultan Secunder. The sultan was, by this means, so incensed against him, that he intimated, at the same time, a design to deprive him of his jagier, and to confer it upon his brother Soliman, as a just punishment for his offence, and the only thing that could bring him to a proper sense of his duty.

Proceedings
 against him.

The sultan, however, having a great esteem for Shere Chan, against whom nothing was yet proved, laid aside the violent measure to which he was instigated by Mahummud. He, at the same time, by way of alarming him, gave orders to his accuser to enquire into his father's estate, and make an equal division of it among all the brothers. Mahummud Chan, glad of this order, sent one of his servants to Shere Chan to acquaint him, that his brothers, according to the sultan's commands, were to have their proportionable dividends of the estate which he had hitherto so unjustly with-held from them.

The nature
 of tenures in
 Hindostan.

Shere Chan returned for answer, that Mahummud was very much mistaken in this matter. That there were no heritable estates in Hindostan, among Mahomedans, for that all lands belonged to the king, which he disposed of at pleasure. That as he himself had a personal grant of his jagier, his brethren were entirely out of the question. That he, however, had already consented to give to his brother Soliman a part of the money and moveables, according to law.

Shere Chan
 attacked.

When the messenger returned with this answer to Mahummud Chan, who was then at Jiond, he was enraged at so flat a denial, and raising all his forces, sent them against Shere Chan, under the command of Shadi, his adopted slave, accompanied by Soliman and

Ahmed.

Ahmed. His orders were to take possession of the country, and to leave a force with Soliman, to protect him in the jagier. A. D. 1542.
Hig. 949.

This resolution being quickly taken, Shere Chan had not time to collect his people; but, upon the first alarm, he wrote to Malleck Sook, his deputy in the pergunnah of Chawaspoor Tandah, to harrafs the enemy with what troops he had, but to avoid an action till he joined him in person. But Malleck Sook, desirous to distinguish himself, gave them battle, and lost his life and the victory. who determines to oppose him.

This disaster weakened Shere Chan so much, that he was in no condition to oppose Mahummud; he therefore evacuated the country, and fled to Juneid Birlafs, suba of Kurrah and Maneckpoor, on the part of Sultan Baber. He made the suba a handsome present, was taken into favor, and obtained a body of troops to recover his country. With these he defeated Mahummud, who fled to the mountains of Rhotas, so that he not only possessed himself of his own country, but added several other pergunnahs to his jagier, which he now held of Sultan Baber. Having rewarded the Moguls who had assisted him, he permitted them to return to their master. He, at the same time, levied troops, and was joined by his former friends, who had fled to the hills, which rendered him very formidable in those parts. He flies to Kurrah.

Returns and defeats Mahummud.

Shere Chan having thus established himself in his jagier, performed an act of generosity, which, if it was not intended to deceive the world, does him much honor. He recalled Mahummud Chan, who had fled, and put him in possession of his former jagier. This generous treatment converted his greatest enemy into one of his best friends. His generosity to him.

Shere having settled his affairs, left his brother Nizam in charge of his country, and paid a visit to his benefactor Juneid Birlafs, at

A. D. 1542. Kurrah. Birlafs was then going to Agra, and Shere resolved to accompany him thither. He was, upon this occasion, introduced to Sultan Baber, and attended that prince in his expedition to Chinderi.

Hig. 949.
Goes to
Agra.

His opinion
concerning
the Moguls.

After Shere had staid some time in the Mogul camp, and observed their manners and policy, he, one day, told a friend, that he thought it would be an easy matter to drive those foreigners out of Hindostan. His friend asked him, what reason he had to think so? Shere replied, "That the king himself, though a man of great parts, was
"but very little acquainted with the policy of Hindostan; and that
"the vizier, who held the reins of government, would be too much
"biaffed in favor of his own interest, to mind that of the public.
"That therefore if the Patans, who were now at enmity among
"themselves, could be brought to mutual concord, the work was
"compleated; and should fortune ever favor him, he imagined him-
"self equal to the task, however difficult it might, at present, ap-
"pear." His friend burst out into a loud laugh, and began to ridicule this vain opinion.

His behavior
at the
King's table

Shere, a few days after, had, at the king's table, some solid dishes set before him, with only a spoon to eat them. He called for a knife, but the servants had orders not to supply him with one. Shere, not to lose his dinner, drew his dagger, without ceremony, and cutting up his meat, made a hearty meal, without minding those who diverted themselves at this odd behavior. When he had done, the king, who had been remarking his manner, turned to Amir Chalifa, and said, "This Afghan is not to be disconcerted by
"trifles, and is likely to be a great man."

occasions a
reflection of
Baber.

He privately
withdraws.

Shere Chan perceiving, by these words, that the king had been informed of his private discourse to his friend, fled the camp that night, and went to his own jagier. He wrote from thence to Juneid Birlafs, that as Mahummud Chan had prevailed on Sultan

Mahmood

Mahmood Chan, of Behar, to send troops against his jagier, he had in haste left the king's camp, without waiting upon him for leave. He, by this means, amused Juneid Birlafs from chastising him, and at the same time made up matters with Sultan Mahmood, with whom he became a greater favorite than before.

A. D. 1542.
Hig. 949.

Is reconciled
with Sultan
Mahmood of
Behar,

Sultan Mahmood dying a short time after, was succeeded by his son Jellal Chan, a minor. The young prince's mother, Sultana Dudu, acted as regent, and conferred the principal offices in the government upon Shere Chan. The sultana dying soon after, the administration fell wholly into his hands.

who dies.

Shere Chan
manages the
government.

Muchdum Allum, the governor of Hadgeepoor, on the part of Sultan Mahmood, of Bengal, being guilty of some misdemeanor, threw himself under Shere Chan's protection. Sultan Mahmood, to revenge this insult, ordered Cuttub Chan, governor of Mongier, with a great force, against Behar. As the forces of Behar were inconsiderable, in comparison of those of Bengal, Shere Chan made many overtures for accommodating differences, but to no effect. Finding no arguments could prevail but the sword, he resolved to stand the unequal encounter, in which his superior skill and bravery acquired him a complete victory. Cuttub Chan was slain, and all his treasure, elephants, and camp equipage taken, which greatly advanced the designs of Shere Chan.

Overthrows
the army of
Bengal.

After this victory, the Patan tribe of Lohani, envying the fortune of Shere, formed a conspiracy, to take away his life. Shere discovered the plot, taxed Jellal Chan with it, who was privy to the conspiracy, being very jealous of the great influence of his minister. He told, on this occasion, to the young prince, that there was no necessity of taking such a base method of getting quit of him, for that if he should but once signify his inclination, Shere was ready to resign that government, which he lately so successfully protected. The prince, either

A plot against
his life.

He offers to
resign.

A. D. 1542.
Hig. 949.

either suspecting his sincerity, or being equally suspicious of the other omrahs, would, by no means, consent to his resignation. This so much disgusted the conspirators, that they took every possible measure to make a breach between the prince and his minister,

Shere obliges
his master,
the Sultan of
Behar, to fly.

Shere, finding that he had no security, but in maintaining his power, by the unlimited use he made of it, justly excited the prince's jealousy to such a pitch, that, one night, accompanied by his omrahs, he fled to Sultan Mahmood, of Bengal, and implored his aid to expel Shere Chan, who had usurped his throne,

Mahmood of
Bengal assists
him with an
army,

Sultan Mahmood, joining his compassion for the young prince, to his personal hatred for Shere, sent Ibrahim Chan, the son of Cuttub Chan, with a considerable army against the usurper. The Bengaliens besieged Shere in a mud fort, for a long time, without success; so that Ibrahim was obliged to send home for succours. Shere Chan, being informed of this circumstance, came out, offered battle, and, by means of a common stratagem, ordering his troops to fly at the first onset, to draw the enemy into an ambush, defeated them, and took all their guns and elephants. Ibrahim Chan was slain in the action, and the young prince fled in great distress to Bengal.

which is
overthrown
by Shere.

All Behar
submits to
him.

Shere, by this victory, became lord of all Behar, and grew daily more and more formidable. Taje Chan was, at this time, governor of the strong fort of Chinâr, which he had held for himself ever since the death of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. His wife Lade Mallecke, who was barren, yet for whom he had a very great affection, being envied by his other wives, by whom he had children, they instigated their sons to make away with her. But one of the sons, who had undertaken the murder, missed his blow, and only inflicted a slight wound. Taje Chan, alarmed by her cries, came to her assistance, and drew his sword to kill his son. The son, seeing no means to escape, assaulted his father, and slew him. The sons of Taje Chan were yet

too young to be entrusted with the government, and Lade Mallecke A. D. 1542.
 drew the reins into her own hands, by her address among the Hig. 949.
 chiefs and zemindars. Shere Chan, informed of these transactions,
 set a treaty of marriage on foot with Lade Mallecke, which was soon
 concluded. Shere seized upon Chinâr and the dependant districts, Shere Chan,
 which was a great acquisition to his power, there being a consider- obtains the
 able treasure in the place. possession of
 Chinâr.

Much about this time, Sultan Mahmood, the son of Sultan Se-
 cunder Lodi, having taken protection with Rana Sinka, by his as-
 sistance, and that of Hassen Chan Mewati, advanced against Sultan
 Baber, and were defeated, as we have already seen, at Janveh.
 Sultan Mahmood, flying to Chitor, was from thence invited by the
 omrahs of Lodi, who were gathered together at Patna, and by them
 proclaimed king. He made himself soon master of all Behar. Shere Sultan Mah-
 Chan perceiving that he could not draw the omrahs over from the mood Lodi
 sultan's interest, and that he had not sufficient force to oppose him, possesses him-
 submitted to his authority, and, by that means, saved a part of Behar, self of Behar.
 which the sultan permitted him to retain. The sultan told him,
 at the same time, that if he should effectually assist him in recovering
 Jionpoor from the Moguls, he would return Behar to him; and a
 contract to that effect was drawn up and executed between them.

Shere Chan, some time after, obtained leave to return to Sheffaram, Shere Chan
 to levy troops, and Sultan Mahmood marching, with an army, obtains leave
 against the Moguls, sent him orders to join. But as Shere delayed to visit his
 for some time, the sultan, persuaded by his omrahs that he was jagier.
 playing a loose game, marched his army through his jagier on his
 way to Jionpoor. Shere came out to meet him, had an elegant en-
 tertainment provided for his reception, and then marched with him
 to Jionpoor. The troops of Humaioon evacuated the province upon
 their approach, so that the Afghans took possession of the country
 as far as Lucknore.

Humaioon

A. D. 1542.
Hig. 949.

He betrays
Sultan Mah-
mood Lodi.

Humaioon lay, at this time, before Callinger, and having heard of the progress of the Afghans, he marched against them. Mahmood having, on this occasion, given a superior command to Bein Baezîd, Shere Chan, who thought himself ill-used, betrayed his master, and wrote a private letter, the night before the action, to Hindoo Beg, one of the Mogul generals, acquainting him, "That he esteemed himself a servant of Baber's family, to whom he owed his advancement, and that he would be the cause of defeating the Afghans next day." He drew off his troops in the action, which occasioned Mahmood's defeat, for which service he was greatly favored by Humaioon. Sultan Mahmood, after this defeat, retreated to Patna, retired from the world, and, in the year nine hundred and forty nine, died in Orissa.

Refuses to
give up
Chinâr to
Humaioon.

Proposes
terms to
Humaioon,

Humaioon, after his victory, returned to Agra, and sent Amir Hindoo Beg to Shere Chan, to take possession of the fort of Chinâr. Shere excused himself, and obliged Hindoo Beg to retreat. Humaioon returned immediately with his whole army to besiege Chinâr, and, having invested it, he received a letter from Shere Chan, acquainting him, "That he esteemed himself one of the servants of the house of Baber, from whom he first obtained a government; and that he had expressed his fidelity, by being the occasion of the late victory. That, therefore, if the king would permit him to retain the government of the fort, he was willing to pay him the proper revenues of the lands which he held, and would send his son, Cuttub Chan, with five hundred horse, to be maintained at his own expence, in the sultan's service."

which are
accepted.

As at this juncture the affairs of Guzerat, by the conquests of Sultan Bahadur, required the king's presence, and considering also the strength of Chinâr, Humaioon consented to these terms, and, accordingly, being joined by Cuttub Chan and Issey Chan Hajbil, with five hundred horse, he marched towards Sultan Bahadur. The king, however,

however, had scarcely reached Guzerat, when Cuttub Chan deserted with his horse, and returned to his father. Shere immediately raised what forces he could, and reduced Behar. Not satisfied with this success, he pursued his fortune, and penetrated into the heart of Bengal, having fought with the omrahs of that country several sharp battles, before he could make himself master of the passes, which were defended a whole month.

A. D. 1542.
Hig. 949.

Shere reduces Behar, and enters Bengal.

Sultan Mahmood of Bengal shut himself up in Gour, which Shere Chan for a long time besieged. One of the zemindars of Behar having raised a disturbance, he left Chawass Chan to carry on the siege, and returned himself to Behar. Provisions becoming at length very scarce in Gour, Sultan Mahmood fled in a boat to Hadjepoor; and Shere Chan, having settled affairs in Behar, returned and pursued him. Mahmood being necessitated to give battle, was defeated, and being wounded in the engagement, fled his kingdom, which immediately fell into the hands of the conqueror.

Besieges Sultan Mahmood Lodi, in Gour.

Overthrows Mahmood.

Humaioon, returning from his expedition to Guzerat, thought it necessary to put a stop to the rising power of Shere Chan. He for that purpose turned towards the reduction of Chinâr. Jellal Chan, who commanded there, left the defence of the place to Ghazi Soor, and retired to the hills of Bercundah, from whence he very much annoyed the besiegers. The siege had been carried on six months, when Rumi Chan, who commanded the king's artillery, by some kind of a floating battery, which he sent down the river close to the wall, reduced the place.

Humaioon turns his arms against him.

Takes Chinâr.

Humaioon left two hundred soldiers in garrison there, and marched towards Bengal. Sultan Mahmood, who, as we have already observed, was wounded in the action with Shere Chan, threw himself under the protection of Humaioon. When the king had advanced to Gurhi, which is the frontier of Bengal, he found that Shere Chan had

Marches towards Bengal,

A. D. 1542.
Hig. 949. sent Jellal Chan, Chawass Chan, and a good detachment, to guard that pass. The king sent Jehangire Kulli Beg, and some other omrahs, to dislodge them; but they were repulsed in several attacks. Being, however, supported by more troops, and the whole army appearing in fight, a successful assault was made, and the Moguls became masters of the pass. Jellal Chan fled to his father Shere Chan at Gour, who, being in no condition to engage so superior a force, evacuated that capital, carried off all his wealth to the mountains of Jarchund, and begun to project a scheme for possessing himself of Rhotas, that he might there lodge his family and wealth in security.

forces the
passes.

Drives Shere
Chan to the
mountains of
Jarchund.

Shere Chan,
by a strata-
gem,
takes the im-
pregnable
fortress of
Rhotas.

To take Rhotas by open force was an impossible attempt. It was therefore necessary to devise some stratagem, by which success might be hoped. Shere, for this purpose, sent a message to Raja Berkiss, who was in possession of this impregnable fortress, and told him, "That as he himself was going to attempt the recovery of Bengal, he hoped, from their former friendship, that he would permit him to send his family and treasure into the place, with a few attendants." The raja at first rejected this request, but Shere Chan sent an artful ambassador to the raja, a second time, with some handsome presents, acquainting him, "That it was only for his women and treasure he requested the raja's protection: That should he be fortunate enough to conquer Bengal, he would make proper acknowledgments for the favor on his return; but if he should lose his life in the contest, he rather chose that his family and wealth should fall into his hands, than into those of the Moguls, his inveterate enemies."

The raja, permitting himself to be deluded by his avarice, determined, when once in possession of the treasure, to keep it, and therefore consented to Shere's request. Shere Chan having provided covered doolies *, filled them all, except two or three, which were to go first, with armed men and arms. He, at the

* The same with sedan chairs.

same time, filled five hundred money bags with ball, and appointed some of his best soldiers to carry them, in the disguise of slaves, with sticks in their hands, to help the treasure up the mountain. The men, who carried the doolies, were disguised in the same manner. This train accordingly set out, and the first and second dooly being examined at the gate, were found to contain only old women, so further examination was neglected. The raja was, in the mean time, busy in counting the bags, which he now reckoned part of his own fortune. When the doolies had reached the house which the raja had appointed, the wolves rushed out among the sheep, and begun to dye the fold with their blood. The porters used their staves, till they supplied themselves with arms from the doolies. They easily mastered the garrison, who were off their guard, and admitted Shere Chan, who was encamped at a small distance. The raja himself, with a few followers, found means to escape into the woods, by a private passage behind the fort.

A. D. 1542.
Hig. 949.

Thus fell one of the most impregnable fortresses in the world into the hands of Shere Chan, together with much treasure, which had been accumulating there for ages. The merit of the invention of this stratagem is not due to Shere. The fort of Asere, in the Decan, was, long before, taken in the same manner by Nasir Chan Faroki, governor of Chandez.

Rhotas is built upon the level top of a mountain; the only entrance to it is a very narrow road, through a steep ascent of one crore, from the foot of the hill to the gates, which are three in number, one above another, defended by guns and rolling-stones. The square contents of the fortified table land, on the top of the mountain, is more than five crores. In this space are contained towns, villages, and corn fields, and water is found a few feet from the surface. On one side runs the river Sone, under an immense precipice, and another river, in the same manner, passes close to the

Description
of Rhotas.

A. D. 1541.
Hig. 948.

other side, and both meeting a little below, form the hill into a triangular peninsula. There is a very deep valley on the third side, full of impervious woods, which spread all over the mountains, and render all access that way next to impossible.

Humaioon
marches back
towards
Agra.

Shere Chan had now a secure retreat for his family, and his friends began to acquire fresh spirits by this piece of success. Humaioon, in the mean time, spent three months in luxurious pleasures, at Gour, or Lucknouti. He there received advices that Mirza Hindal, his brother, had revolted in Agra and Mewat; that he had put Shech Phoul to death, and coined money in his own name. He therefore left Jehangire Kulli Beg, with five thousand horse, in Gour, and returned towards Agra.

Is totally
overthrown
by Shere
Chan.

By the excessive rains and bad roads, the king's cavalry and beasts of burthen perished in great numbers, on his march, by fatigue and want of forage. Shere Chan, who had now raised a numerous army, entrenched himself on the banks of the Jossa, in a place by which the king must of necessity pass, and, by treachery, defeated him with great slaughter, in the manner which we have already related. Shere did not immediately push forward to the capital. Anxious to leave no enemy behind him, he returned to Bengal, engaged Jehangire Kulli Beg in several battles, defeated him, and, at length, cut him and his army to pieces.

SECTION III.

The history of the reign of SHERE SHAW, the Afghan.

Shere Shaw
assumes the
imperial ti-
tle.

SHERE SHAW, immediately after the reduction of Bengal, assumed the imperial title, struck the coin, and read the chutba, in his own name. He marched, the next year, with a great army, towards Agra. The unfortunate Humaioon was, by this time, deserted

by

by his brother Mirza Camiran, and hated by his Mogul omrahs, on account of his attention to his Turkuman mercenaries. He, however, crossed the river with one hundred thousand horse, and met Shere Chan, who had but fifty thousand. Shere, as we have already mentioned, defeated Humaioon, and pursued him to Agra, Lahore, and Choshâb; from which place the king retreated towards Sind.

A. D. 1542.
Hig. 949.

Ismaiel Chan, Ghazi Chan, Fatti Chan, and Billoche Dudai, all omrahs of that country, joined Shere Shaw. The sultan, observing a hill, among the mountains of Balnat, proper for a fortress, ordered one to be built, which he named Rhotas. Chawafs Chan, his faithful slave, to whose bravery and conduct he owed himself greatly indebted for his fortune, was now made Amir ul Omrah, with a pension of a tenth of the royal revenue.

Makes Chawafs Chan captain general.

Having left the Amir ul Omrah, and Hybut Chan Neazi, with a great army, in the north west, Shere Shaw returned towards Agra. He was in that city informed, that Chizer Chan Sirik, whom he left suba of Bengal, had married the daughter of Mahmood, the former sultan of that province, and held the state of a sovereign prince. Having experienced, in his own fortune, the danger of permitting such behavior to go unpunished, he marched immediately to Bengal. Chizer Chan being unexpectedly surprized, submitted without trouble, and was imprisoned. Shere Shaw very prudently divided the kingdom of Bengal among a number of omrahs, independent of one another, and appointed Kafi Fazilit, a native of Kurrah, famous for his learning and policy, to superintend the whole. He himself, after these transactions, retired to Agra.

Reduces the suba of Bengal.

In the year nine hundred and forty nine, Shere made a motion towards Malava. Having advanced as far as Gualier, Suja Chan Afghan, who had before invested the place, on the part of Shere Shaw, found means to settle matters with Abul Casim Beg, governor of Gualier.

A. D. 1543. Gualier for Humaioon, and he delivered up that strong fortrefs into
 Hig. 950. his hands. . .
 Takes Gualier.

Reduces Malava.

Shere Shaw having entered Malava, Mullu Chan, governor of that province, submitted without a blow. Being, however, a few days after, alarmed by something, he fled from the king's camp, and Hadjee Chan was appointed to that government; Suja Chan had also a jagier conferred upon him in that country. Shere Shaw having marched from thence to Rintimpore, Mullee Chan fell upon the governor of Malava, and upon Suja Chan, but he was defeated. Suja Chan having acquired all the honor of the victory, Hadjee Chan was superseded and recalled, and the government conferred upon Suja.

Takes Rintimpore.

Shere Shaw arriving before Rintimpore, had the address to get possession of that important fortrefs, from the governor, on the part of Sultan Mahmood Lodi, who had still kept it. The emperor, after taking Rintimpore, returned to Agra. He remained in that city a whole year, settling the internal police of the empire, and regulating his army. He, in the mean time, ordered Hybut Chan to wrest Moultan from the Bellochies. This Hybut soon effected by defeating Fatti Chan Bellochi, and entirely subduing that country. He had, on account of this exploit, the title of Azim Humaioon conferred upon him.

He marches against Raja Paran, for keeping two thousand concubines.

In the year nine hundred and fifty, Paran Mull, the son of Raja Suckdeo Parbia, having conquered some neighbouring pergunnahs, kept no less than two thousand concubines and dancing girls in his zinnana. The king, resenting this indignity, marched and invested him in the fort of Raifein. The siege being protracted for a long time, Paran Mull began to treat of a capitulation. This was granted to him upon the honorable terms of marching out, with all his arms, treasure, family, garrison, and effects. Paran accordingly marched out with four thousand rajaputs, and, trusting to the faith which had been pledged, encamped at a small distance.

But

But Shere Shaw, who never kept the faith of treaties, was easily persuaded, by his base ministers, particularly by Amir Ruffi ul Dien Suffvi, infamously to violate his honor. He surrounded the rajaputs, and ordered them all to be massacred. He, however, paid very dear for this horrid piece of cruelty and treachery. The rajaputs, placing death in one eye and revenge in the other, fought till every man of them was laid dead on the plain, and above double their number of the assassins.

A. D. 1543.
Hig. 950.
His treachery
and cruelty.

Shere Shaw, after this infamous transaction, returned to Agra. Having remained there a few months, to refresh and recruit his army, he marched towards Marwâr. During his march he intrenched himself every night, as well for security, as to exercise his troops, and make them expert in this necessary service. When he came to cross the sands, he formed redoubts all round him with gabions. In this manner he entered the country of the raja of Nagor and Todpoor, whose name was Maldeo, and esteemed the most powerful raja in Hindostan. He opposed the king, with fifty thousand rajaputs, and both armies lay thirty days in fight of one another.

He marches
towards Mar-
wâr,

Shere Shaw would now have been glad to retreat quietly. But the danger was too great, at the same time the enemy was so advantageously posted as to render an attack too hazardous. In the midst of this alarming situation, a successful stratagem suggested itself to the king. Raja Maldeo having conquered that country, to which he had no right by inheritance, Shere Shaw forged a letter, in the Hindoo language and character, in the name of the raja's generals, addressed to himself, setting forth, "That, being conquered by the raja, they had, through necessity, served him till then with fidelity; but that they were, in secret, very weary of his yoke. That if he would therefore, reinstate them in their former possessions, they were willing to make him a due acknowledgement for the favor." On this letter Shere superscribed, as usual, in Persian, That they should fear nothing, desiring them

and, by a
stratagem,
deceives the
enemy.

A. D. 1544. them to persevere in their intentions, and that they might rest assured,
 Hig. 951. that he would comply with their demand.

This letter was purposely thrown into the way of the raja, who, being always in dread of his omrahs, was easily deceived. He therefore declined the battle, which he intended to give that day. He was even more and more confirmed in his unjust suspicion, by the eagerness which they expressed to engage. Upon the fourth day he ordered a retreat; but Cunia, one of his principal omrahs, having found out in what manner the raja had been deceived by these forgeries, endeavoured to persuade him of his mistake. Having found that the raja's suspicions could not be removed, he told him, That the suspected treachery was unprecedented among true Rajaputs, and that he was determined to wipe off the stain which the raja had thrown upon their reputation, by his own blood, or the conquest of Shere Shaw, with his own tribe.

Gallant proposal of a Rajaput omrah.

He returns with his own tribe, and attacks Shere.

After an obstinate battle, the rajaputs are cut to pieces.

The raja continued to retreat, but the gallant Cunia, with a few other chiefs, and ten or twelve thousand men, turned back, with an intent to surprize Shere Shaw's camp. They, however, by some mistake, lost their way, and it was fair day light before they saw the enemy. Shere Shaw immediately formed, and came out against them. Though the king's army, by the smallest computation, consisted of eighty thousand fighting men, this handful of brave Rajaputs repulsed them repeatedly, and would have certainly defeated them, if Jellal Chan Selwani had not at that instant arrived with a fresh reinforcement, to join the imperial army. Shere falling upon the Rajaputs with renewed vigor, broke them; and the brave Cunia, with almost his whole army, were cut to pieces.

Remarkable saying of Shere Shaw.

Shere Shaw, finding himself in possession of a victory of which he had at one time despaired, exclaimed, "That, for a handful of barley, he had almost given the Empire of Hindostan to the wind." This grain,

grain, it seems, was all the scanty produce of that sandy country, <sup>A. D. 1545.
Hig. 952.</sup> for which the inhabitants fought with so much obstinacy. Raja Maldeo having heard of this action, and the loss of so many brave men, fell into deep affliction; and being, for his pusillanimity, deserted by the greatest part of his army, he retreated among the mountains of Sodpoor.

Shere Shaw, after this bloody victory, turned his army towards ^{He takes} the fort of Chitor, which was surrendered to him by capitulation. ^{Chitor,} He then directed his march to Rintimpore, and gave that country in jagier to his son Adil Chan, who fixed his residence there. The sultan, in person, moved towards Callinger, which is esteemed one ^{and sits down} of the strongest forts in Hindostan. ^{before Cal-} The raja of Callinger, on ac- ^{linger;} count of the king's treacherous behavior to Paran Mull, would make no submission, but prepared himself for hostilities. Shere Shaw, ^{besieges the} having drawn a line of circumvallation, begun to carry on his ap- ^{place.} proaches to the place; he raised mounds of earth for his artillery, and sunk mines under the rock. The royal batteries were now advanced very near the walls, breaches were made, and a general assault ordered, when a live shell, which had been thrown against the fort by the imperialists, rebounded back into the battery in which the king stood. The shell burst in the midst of a quantity of powder, which had not been properly secured. Several gunners were blown ^{The king} up; the king, Shech Chalile, Mulla Nizam Danishmund, and Diria ^{burnt by the} Chan Serwani, were burnt in so terrible a manner, that they were ^{blowing up,} carried for dead to their tents. ^{of powder.}

In this dreadful condition the king began to breathe, in great agonies; he, however, encouraged the continuance of the attack, and gave orders, till in the evening news was brought him of the reduction of the place. He then cried out, "Thanks to the Almighty God," and expired. The death of Shere Shaw ^{He dies.} happened on the twelfth of Ribbi ul Awil, in the year nine hundred.

A. D. 1545. and fifty two. He spent fifteen years in a military life before he
 Hig. 952. mounted the throne; and he sat upon the musnud five years, as emperor of Hindostan.

His character.

The character of Shere Shaw is almost equally divided between virtue and vice. Public justice prevailed in the kingdom, while private acts of treachery dishonored the hands of the king. He seemed to have made breach of faith a royal property, which he would by no means permit his subjects to share with him. We ought, perhaps, to ascribe this vice to the ambition of Shere. Had he been born to the musnud, he might have been just, as he was valiant and politic in war: Had he confined his mind to his jagier, he might merit the character of a virtuous omrah; but his great soul made him look up to the throne, and he cared not by what steps he was to ascend.

His magnificence.

Shere Shaw left many monuments of his magnificence behind him. From Bengal and Sennargaum, to the Sind, or Nilab, which is fifteen hundred crores *, he built caravanserais at every stage, and dug a well at the end of every crore. Besides, he raised many magnificent mosques for the worship of God on the highway, wherein he appointed readers of the Koran and Imams. He ordered that at every serai, all travellers, without distinction of country or religion, should be entertained, according to their quality, at the public expence. He, at the same time, planted rows of fruit trees along the roads, to preserve travellers from the scorching heat of the sun, as well as to gratify their taste.

Was the first who established regular horse posts.

Horse-posts were placed at proper distances, for forwarding quick intelligence to government, and for the advantage of trade and correspondence. This establishment was new in Hindostan. Such was the public security during his reign, that travellers and mer-

* About three thousand of our miles.

chants, throwing down their goods, went without fear to sleep on the highway. A. D. 1545.
Hig. 952.

It is said that Shere Shaw being told that his beard grew white, replied, It was true that he had obtained the empire towards the evening. He divided his time into four equal parts: One he appropriated to public justice, one to the regulations of his army, one to worship, and the remainder to rest and recreation. He was buried at Seffaram, in a magnificent sepulchre which he had built in the middle of a great tank, or reservoir of water. His attention
to business.

SECTION IV.

The reign of SELIM SHAW, the Son of SHERE SHAW.

WHEN Shere Shaw was numbered with the dead, his eldest son, Adil Chan, whom he appointed his successor, was at Rintimpore, and his younger son, Jellal, in the village of Rewin, near Phetah. The omrahs, who favored Jellal more than his brother, then at so great a distance, pretended the necessity of filling the throne as soon as possible. They, for that purpose, dispatched expresses to Jellal Chan, who arrived in five days in the camp. Jellal, by the influence of Isah Chan Hugab, and his party, mounted the throne, in the fortrefs of Callinger, upon the seventeenth of Ribbi ul Awil, in the year nine hundred and fifty two, and assumed the title of Islam Shaw, which, by false pronounciation, was turned to that of Selim Shaw, by which name he is more generally known. Jellal Chan
mounts the
throne by the
name of Se-
lim Shaw.

Selim Shaw, having taken upon him the imperial dignity, wrote to his elder brother, in the following words: “ Adil being at so great a distance, and I so near, to prevent disturbance, I took upon me He writes to
his brother.

A. D. 1545. "the command of the army till his return. But my intentions are
 Hig. 952. "only to forward my brother's interest, and to support his authority."

Jellal, after writing this letter, marched from Callinger towards Agra, and at Kurrah was met by Chawafs Chan, who renewed the ceremonies of royalty, and placed Selim Shaw a second time on the throne, holding a magnificent festival upon that occasion. From Kurrah, Selim Shaw wrote another letter to his brother, begging in the most affectionate terms, that he would come and see him.

He is placed
 a second time
 upon the
 musnud.

His brother's
 answer.

Adil Chan wrote to the omrahs of Selim Shaw, particularly to Cuttub Chan Naib, Isah Chan Neazi, Chawafs Chan, and Jellal Chan Selwani, to know to what purpose he was invited, and what he was to hope from them. He, at the same time, returned to his brother for answer, "That, if he would send these four omrahs to him, with proper assurances, he would come." Selim Shaw sent accordingly the four omrahs to Adil Shaw, to assure him, in the most solemn manner, that he would permit him, if he pleased, to depart after the first interview: But that, as the omrahs had invested him with the imperial power, he could not be so ungrateful as to desert them. However, to make some compensation to Adil, for the empire, he was determined to give him his choice of any of the provinces in free jagier.

The inter-
 view of the
 brothers.

Their designs
 against one
 another.

Adil Shaw, upon these assurances, proceeded to Agra. When he had reached the village of Sikri *, Selim Shaw was out on a hunting party, near that place, and appointed carpets to be spread for their interview. Here the brothers dissembled the greatest affection for one another, and after some discourse set out for Agra. Selim Shaw, who wanted to seize his brother, gave private orders, that only a few of his retinue should be admitted into the citadel; but Adil Shaw had also given orders to his people to press in, at all hazards, which they accordingly did, in spite of all opposition.

* Now Fattepoor.

Selim Shaw saw, that, without running a great risque, nothing could be effected against his brother, who was so much upon his guard. He, therefore, had recourse to flattery and dissimulation. He even proceeded so far, as to lay hold of Adil's hand, to place him upon the throne. Adil Shaw, who was naturally a timorous and indolent man, rejected this proposal, knowing how little he had to trust from the omrahs, and a deceitful, ambitious brother. Selim Shaw was well aware of all this, before he made this extraordinary offer.

A. D. 1545.
Hig. 952.
Transactions
in the palace.

Just as Selim expected, so it fell out; Adil Shaw, intimidated by the disturbance which had been made at the gate, made a voluntary resignation of his birthright, and placing Selim Shaw on the throne, saluted him emperor. This was instantly followed by all the court, who were waiting with impatience the issue of this extraordinary farce. They immediately advanced to the throne in succession, and, according to their rank, presented their nazirs *, while others exhibited the ceremony of the isar †, crying out aloud, "We offer our lives and fortunes to the king."

Adil makes a
solemn resign-
ation of the
empire.

The ceremonies being ended, Cuttub Chan, and the other omrahs, who had passed their words to Adil Shaw, requested, that, as he had pitched upon Biana for his jagier, he, according to promise, should be regularly invested with that province, and permitted to depart. Selim Shaw consented, and all matters being settled, he gave Adil leave to quit Agra, accompanied by Isah Chan and Chawafs Chan.

Adil obtains
the province
of Biana in
jagier.

* Offerings made upon public occasions to the emperor.

† Isar, or Tefsiduck, is a ceremony used upon the accession of a prince to the throne; the omrahs running three times round the king, waving an offering of money, in a charger, three times over the monarch's head. This money is afterwards delivered over to the royal almoner, to be distributed in charity, as indeed are all offerings made to the emperor.

But

A. D. 1545.
Hig. 952.

Chawafs
Chan kindles
a rebellion in
favor of Adil.

But after two months, Selim gave to Ghazi Mahli, one of his eunuchs, a pair of golden fetters, to go and bring Adil Shaw prisoner. Adil Shaw, having timely intelligence of this design against him, set out for Mewat, where Chawafs Chan then resided. He acquainted that omrah, with tears, of his brother's baseness. Chawafs Chan, whose honor was concerned in this affair, was roused with compassion for the unfortunate prince. He seized upon Ghazi Mahli, placed his fetters upon his own legs, and exalted the spear of rebellion against Selim Shaw.

He marches
towards
Agra.

The interest of Chawafs was great among the omrahs. He wrote to them private letters, and brought many over to his party. A great army was soon raised, and Chawafs, with Adil Shaw and Isah Chan, marched towards Agra. He, upon his way, received letters from Cuttub Chan and Jellal Chan, who thought themselves dishonored by the king's behavior, assuring him of their assistance.

Selim in great
perplexity.

When the confederate omrahs arrived before Agra, Selim Shaw, at this unexpected visit, was thrown into the utmost perplexity. He called Cuttub Chan and Jellal Chan to his presence, and reproached them for not dissuading him from that impolitic step which had drawn upon him such dangerous consequences. Cuttub Chan replied, "That the business was not yet irremediable; that he would undertake to settle every thing in an amicable manner." Selim Shaw not suspecting the fidelity of the two omrahs, immediately desired that they should go to Adil Shaw, and compromise affairs.

Proposes to
fly to Chinâr.

Is dissuaded
by Isah Chan,
and resolves
to stand his
ground.

When they were gone, Selim Shaw discovered to his friends his intentions of flying to Chinâr, where the treasure was lodged, and there to raise an army to reduce his brother, whom he was not at present in a condition to oppose. Isah Chan Hujâb dissuaded him from this resolution. He told him, "That he had with him ten thousand Chermalli Patans, who had served him before he ascended the

the throne, whom he could not suspect of disaffection, besides many other faithful servants. That therefore, it was the height of folly, to trust the empire, which God had given him, to the future caprice of fortune, when he had it in his power to defend it instantly in the field. Do not, said Isah, throw away the friends whom you have acquired in your prosperity, with a vain hope to pick up others in the season of distress. The wisest course for you, continued the omrah, is to appear at the head of your troops, and to fix the foot of resolution on the field of war. This will secure your wavering troops, and intimidate the enemy."

A. D. 1545.
Hig. 952.

Selim Shaw, encouraged by this bold advice, resolved to stand his ground. He immediately dispatched a message to Cuttub Chan, and the other omrahs, who had not yet set out, to accommodate matters with Adil, and commanded them to his presence. He told them, That having altered his mind, he was resolved not to trust his faithful omrahs in the hands of his enemies. He forthwith ordered his troops to their arms, marched out of the city, and formed his army on the plain.

The omrahs, who had promised to favor Adil Shaw, seeing their king in the field, ashamed to betray him, were necessitated to fight, which greatly disconcerted Chawass Chan, who, every minute, expected they would join him. He, however, fought with great bravery, but he was overthrown.

Engages the
enemy,
and over-
throws them.

Adil Shaw, after this unfortunate battle, fled towards Patna, but he soon disappeared, and was never heard of afterwards. Chawass Chan and Isah Chan Neazi, fled to Mewât. Selim Shaw sent an army in pursuit of those omrahs, but they came off victorious, at Firospoor. The imperial army being soon after reinforced, the rebel chiefs were obliged to retreat among the mountains of Cumaoon. Selim sent Cuttub Chan in pursuit of them, and he plundered all the

Adil Shaw
disappears.

A. D. 1545. the countries lying about the skirts of the hills, without effecting any
 Hig. 952. thing against them.

Selim Shaw, after these transactions, marched to Chinâr. On the way, he was informed of the treasonable correspondence of Jellal Chan with Adil, before the late decisive battle, and ordered him to be put to death, together with his brother, who was concerned in the conspiracy. The king having arrived at Chinâr, he took out of that fortress all the treasure, sent it to Gualier, and returned himself to Agra.

Several suspected persons punished.

Cuttub Chan, finding that Selim was no stranger to the part which he had acted in the late disturbances, was afraid to return to court. He fled, therefore, to Hybut Chan at Lahore, known by the title of Azim Humaioon, and claimed his protection. Selim Shaw sent orders to Lahore, that Cuttub should be sent to Agra, with which Azim Humaioon complied. The unfortunate Cuttub, upon his arrival, was sent prisoner to Gualier, with many other suspected persons, particularly Shebaz Chan Lohani, the king's brother-in-law, whose eyes were put out. Azim Humaioon and Suja Chan, suba of Malava, were, much about this time, called to court. The first excused himself, and the latter, obeying the summons, had the address to clear himself of what he was accused, and so was reinstated in his government.

The king marches to Rhotas.

A rebellion.

The king, after these transactions, moved towards Rhotas, to bring the treasure, which his father had deposited in that place, to Agra. Seid Chan, the brother of Azim Humaioon, deserted him on the way, and fled to Lahore. The king, from this circumstance, concluded that a rebellion was in agitation, which determined him to return immediately to Agra. He soon assembled his forces from all quarters, and marched to Delhi, where he ordered the new city which Humaioon had built, to be walled in with stone. At Delhi,

Suja

Suja Chan joined him with the army from Malava. The king remained only a few days in Delhi to regulate his army, and then took the rout of Lahore.

A. D. 1547.

Hig. 954.

Selim
marches to
Lahore.

Azim Humaioon, Chawafs Chan, and other disaffected chiefs, with double the king's forces, came out before Selim at Ambatta. Selim arriving within sight of the rebels, dismounted, and, with a few friends, ascended a rising ground for the purpose of reconnoitring; when he had for some time viewed their disposition, he said: "It is not consistent with my honor to have any patience with a rebellious army;" and, at these words, he ordered his line to be formed, and to advance against them.

The rebels
meet him at
Ambatta.

It happened very fortunately for the affairs of Selim, that, upon the preceding night, there had arisen a dispute among the rebel generals, about the succession to the throne. Chawafs Chan insisted that search should be made for Adil Shaw, and Azim Humaioon strenuously affirmed, "That the empire was no man's inheritance, but should always follow the fortune of the sword." This plainly pointed out his own views. On this head, animosity and faction arose, so that as soon as the rebels had formed the line, Chawafs Chan retreated, with all his troops, without striking a blow. This circumstance so much discouraged the remaining part of the rebels, that their resistance was faint, and an unexpected victory fell to Selim.

Disputes
arising
among them,

they separate,
and are over-
thrown.

But, in the midst of this tide of good fortune, the sultan narrowly escaped with his life, from a daring attempt of Seid Chan, the brother of Azim Humaioon. This gallant omrah, with ten of his friends in armor, mixed, without discovery, with the king's troops, and advanced towards him, as if they were about to congratulate him upon his victory. An elephant-driver, who stood near the king, observed and knew Seid, and struck him with his spear: Yet, in spite of all the guards, and the army which stood round, Seid and his party cut their way through, sword in hand, and escaped.

An attempt
upon the life
of Selim.

A. D. 1548.

Hig. 955.

The rebels, who called themselves the Neazies, being mostly of that family, retreated, after this defeat, to Dincot, near Rop, in the mountains, Selim Shaw pursuing them as far as the new fort of Rhotas, which his father had built. He, from thence, detached Chaja Weis Serwani, with a strong force after them, and returned himself to Agra, and from thence soon after proceeded to Gualier.

He pursues
the rebels in-
to the moun-
tains.

Suja Chan going one day up to the fort before the king, one Ofmân, a person whom Suja had deprived of his right hand some time before, had concealed himself by the side of the road, with a desperate intention to be revenged upon that omrah. The assassins rushed

He is desert-
ed at Gualier
by Suja Chan.

out upon Suja, and inflicted a wound with his dagger. Suja, without enquiring into the matter, imagined that the whole was done by the instigation of the king, and therefore fled, with great precipitation, and made his way towards Malava, with all his forces. The king pursued him as far as Mundu, but hearing that he had fled to Banfwalla, he returned, leaving Isah Chan Soor, with twenty thousand horse, at Ugein, to observe his motions. This happened in the year nine hundred and fifty four.

Caja Weis
defeated by
the Neazi re-
bels.

They are, in
their turn,
overthrown.

Caja Weis having been some time before left to carry on the war against the Neazi rebels, engaged them near Dincot, and was defeated by Azim Humaioon, who pursued him as far as Sirhind. Selim Shaw hearing of this defeat, assembled a great army, and dispatched it, under proper generals, against the rebels. Azim Humaioon was obliged to retreat in his turn to Dincot. The rebels turned upon the imperial army at Simbollo, but were overthrown with great slaughter. Azim Humaioon's mother, and all his family, were taken prisoners.

They throw
themselves
under the
protection of
the Gickers.

The Neazi rebels, after this defeat, threw themselves under the protection of the Gickers among the mountains bordering on Cashmire. Selim Shaw, finding that he could never rest in peace without

out effectually quashing this rebellion, marched in person towards Punjab, and, for the space of two years, carried on a war with the Gickers who supported the Neazies.

A. D. 1550.
Hig. 957.

In this expedition a person concealed himself in the narrow path, by which the king, one day ascended the mountain of Mannickcot, and rushed upon him with a drawn sword. Selim, having time to draw, saved himself, and killed the affassin, and perceived that his sword was one that he himself had formerly presented to Ackbal Chan.

An attempt
upon Selim's
life.

The Gickers being driven from one place to another, without being in a condition to face the king, Azim Humaioon, with his followers, went into Cashmire; but the king of that country, fearing Selim Shaw's resentment, opposed the rebels, and, having defeated them, sent the heads of Azim Humaioon, Seid Chan, and Shabass Chan to the king. Selim being now secured against further disturbance from that quarter, returned to Delhi. Mirza Camiran, much about this time, flying from his brother Sultan Humaioon, who was now on his way from Persia, took protection under Selim Shaw. But he was very ill received, and fled to the mountains of Sewalic, among the Gickers.

The rebels,
driven from
among the
Gickers,

are defeated
and slain by
the king of
Cashmire.

Mirza Cami-
ran ill-re-
ceived by Se-
lim.

Selim Shaw, after returning from his expedition, had only remained a few days at Delhi, when he received advices, that Sultan Humaioon had reached the Nilâb. The king was at that instant drawing blood by cupping; he immediately started up, issued orders to march, and he himself encamped, that evening, three crores without the city. He there waited for his artillery, which was dragged by men, till the bullocks, which were grazing in the country, could be brought together. The artillery being very heavy, each gun required between one and two thousand men; yet, in this manner, he marched, with great expedition, to Lahore. But, in the mean time, Humaioon retreated, as we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel.

Selim
marches
against Sul-
tan Hu-
maioon,

who retreats.

Selim
Shaw

A. D. 1551. Shaw returned to Delhi, and from thence proceeded to Gualier, where
 Hig. 958. he took up his residence.

A plot
 against Se-
 lim's life.

Selim taking, one day, the diversion of the chase, near Atri, a body of banditti, who had been set on by some of the king's enemies, lay in ambush, to take his life. But he perceived them time enough to avoid the snare. When they were seized and examined, they impeached Baha ul Dien, Mahmood Mudda, and others, who were immediately executed, after which the king became extremely suspicious, and put many to death upon small presumptions.

Chawaf's
 Chan assassi-
 nated.

Chawaf's Chan, a man justly renowned for personal courage, strict honor, great abilities in war, and extensive generosity, being long driven about from place to place, came to Taje Chan Kirrani, who had owed his preferment to him, and now governed Simbol. The ungrateful villain, in violation of his oath, and the laws of hospitality, to ingratiate himself with Selim Shaw, basely assassinated him. His body being carried to Delhi, was there interred. His tomb is frequented by the devout to this day, they numbering him among their saints.

Selim dies.

Not long after this base assassination, in which Selim Shaw was concerned, he was seized with a fistula in ano, by which, in the year nine hundred and sixty, he bled to death, having reigned nine years. In the same year, Sultan Mahmood, of Guzerat, and Buran Nizam ul Muluck Bheri of the Decan died. Selim possessed not the abilities of his father, and consequently carried neither his virtues nor his vices to such extremes. He, in some measure, suited the times in which he lived; and was rather a necessary than a good prince. A man of an upright mind might stagger in the stream of corruption, which then prevailed, but Selim stood firm, by meeting the world in its own way. He possessed personal bravery, and was not unskilful in the field of war. Like Shere, he was magnificent, and studied the convenience of travellers.

His charac-
 ter.

yellers. From Bengal to the Nilâb, he built an intermediate ferais, ^{A. D. 1552.} between each of those which his father had erected; all who passed ^{Hig. 960.} along the great road being entertained at the public expence.

In the reign of Selim, Shech Allai, a philosopher of Biana, made a great noise in the world, by introducing a new system of religion. He called himself Emam Mendi, whom we believe will be the last of the prophets, and will conquer the world. The impostor having raised great disturbances in the empire, converted some thousands by force and persuasion. After being twice banished by Selim, he returned, and kindled fresh troubles, and was, in the year nine hundred and fifty five, scourged to death at Agra, by order of the king. He remained firm to his doctrine in the agonies of death; but his religion was not long maintained by his disciples.

When Selim travelled the road of mortality, his son, Feroze Chan, ^{Feroze mounts the throne.} was, at twelve years of age, raised to the throne, by the omrahs at Gualier. He had not reigned three days, when Mubariz Chan, the son of Nizam Chan Soor, nephew to the late Emperor Shere, brother of Selim Shaw's wife, and the uncle of Feroze, assassinated the young prince. Mubariz assumed the title of Mahummud Shaw Adil *, to which his infamous treason had no right, and usurped the empire. He perpetrated this barbarous deed with his own hand, in the Mahl. The villain's own sister, Bibi Bai, defended, for some time, her son in her arms, presenting her body to the dagger. In vain did she intreat and weep: the wretch was hardened against ^{Is barbarously murdered.} pity. He tore the young prince from her arms, and, in her presence, severed his head from his body. This was the return which he made to the unfortunate Bibi Bai, for saving his life, repeated times, when Selim, foreseeing his villainies, would have put him to death.

* Adil signifies *the Just*.

SECTION V.

The reign of MAHUMMUD SHAW ADILI.

A. D. 1552.
Hig. 960.
Mahummud
Adil is illite-
rate.
Raifes low
men to the
chief offices
of the state.

THE infamous Mahummud, having always given himself up to pleasure, neglected even the common accomplishment of reading and writing. He hated men of learning, and kept company with illiterate fellows like himself, whom he raised to the highest dignities in the empire, among whom one Himu, a Hindoo Bunnia *, whom Selim Shaw had raised to be Cutwal of the Bazar, was now entrusted with all the weight of the administration.

His foolish
prodigality.

The king, in the mean time, heedless of what passed, spent his time in all the luxurious debaucheries of the Haram. Having heard much in praise of some of the former kings, particularly Feroze Shaw, for their great generosity, he mistook prodigality for that virtue, and to outdo them all, opened the treasury, and lavished it on good and bad, without distinction. When he rode out, he used to head his arrows with gold, which he shot among the multitude. This foolish extravagance soon made away with the great treasures of his predecessors; and all his reward from the people was the nickname of Andili; which, in the Hindoo language, signifies literally the Blind, and metaphorically, the Foolish.

The omrahs
discontented.

When the low-born Himu found himself invested with the whole executive power of the empire, his pride and insolence exceeded all bounds. This naturally made all the Patan omrahs his enemies. They began to conspire for his destruction, and to revolt from his authority. The king became more and more despicable, every day, in the eyes of the people, while all order and government totally declined.

* A shopkeeper.

Mahummud Adil giving, one day, public audience, and distributing jagiers among his omrahs, he ordered the province of Kinnoge to be taken from Shaw Mahummud Firmalli, and given to Sermust Chan Sirbunna. Secunder Chan, the son of Firmalli, a brave young man, being present, said aloud to the emperor, "Is my fortune, then, to be conferred on a feller of dogs?" The young man's father, who was also present, endeavored to check the impetuosity of his son; but he only inflamed his passion the more: He charged the king, in plain terms, with a base design to extirpate his family.

A. D. 1552.
Hig. 960.
Transactions
in the pre-
sence cham-
ber.

Sermust Chan, who was a man of uncommon strength and stature, seeing this behavior to the king, and being also personally affronted, seized Secunder Chan by the breast; Secunder drew his dagger, and killed him on the spot. He then flew at all those who endeavored to oppose him, killed several chiefs, and wounded many more. He then made directly for the king, who leapt from the throne, and ran into the Mahl; Secunder Chan pursuing him, had the door struck in his face, which stopped his course, till the king drew the bolt, and secured himself.

The rashness
and bravery
of Secunder
Chan.

The desperate youth, finding himself disappointed in his design upon the sultan, resolved to revenge himself upon his base minions, and running back into the audience chamber, dealt death to all who opposed him. In the mean time, Ibrahim Chan Soor, the king's brother-in-law, attacked Secunder with some of his people, and cut him to pieces. Dowlat Chan Lohani killed, at the same time, the good old man, Shaw Mahummud, who could not have been blamed for his son's rashness.

He falls upon
the king's
minions.

Is slain.

The unfortunate Firmalli having met Taje Chan Kerrani, as he was going that day to the presence chamber, he asked that omrah whither he was going; to which the other replied, "That affairs had taken

Taje Chan
withdraws
from court.

A. D. 1553.
Hig. 961.

taken such an extraordinary turn, at court, that he was determined to push his own fortune, and would be glad that Firmalli would partake it with him." Firmalli answered, "That he aspired to no fortune but what he possessed by favor of the king, for which he was going to pay his compliments; but such as we have seen was his reward."

Seizes upon
the public
money.

Is over-
thrown.

Taje Chan, as soon as he got out of the fort, took the way of Bengal, with all his dependants. Troops were dispatched to pursue him; they came up with him at Chuppera Mow, about forty crores from Agra, where he fought them, and made good his retreat to Chinâr. He, in his progress, seized the public money, and other effects belonging to the crown; and distributed one hundred elephants among his brothers, Amad, Solimân, Eliâs, and other relations, who had possessions in the province of Budgpoor. By their assistance he raised a formidable army, which obliged the king to take the field, and march towards Chinâr. The insurgents meeting him upon the banks of the Ganges, above Chinâr, they were defeated and dispersed.

The king
jealous of
Ibrahim
Soor's popu-
larity,

The king, becoming jealous of the popularity of Ibrahim Chan Soor, gave private orders to seize him; but his wife, who was sister to the king, having heard of this design in the Mahl, told her husband of it. He fled from Chinâr to his father, Ghazi Chan, suba of Hindown Biana, and was pursued by Isah Chan Neazi, who coming up with him at Calpee, an engagement ensued, in which Isah Chan was defeated, and driven back from further pursuit.

who mounts
the throne at
Delhi.

Ibrahim Chan, soon after, raised a great army, and possessed himself of the city of Delhi, where he mounted the throne, assumed the ensigns of royalty, marched to Agra, and reduced the circumjacent provinces.

Adil

Adil Shaw marched from Chinâr to suppress this usurpation, and, on the way, received an embassy from Ibrahim Chan, promising that if he would send Houssein Chan, Par Chan Serwani, Azim Hummaoon, and other omrahs, with assurances of forgiveness, he would submit. The king was weak enough to comply with his request. The omrahs went; and Ibrahim Chan, by presents, promises, and courteous behavior, soon drew them over to his own interest. Adil Shaw, finding himself in no condition to oppose so strong a confederacy, fled towards Chinâr, and contented himself with the eastern provinces. Ibrahim immediately erected the spear of empire in the west, by the title of Sultan Ibrahim.

A. D. 1552.
Hig. 961.
Adil Shaw
advances
against him.

Is deserted by
his omrahs.

SECTION VI.

The reign of SULTAN IBRAHIM.

SULTAN IBRAHIM had no sooner mounted the throne, than another competitor started up in Punjâb. His name was Ahmed Chan Soor, nephew to Shere Shaw, and also brother-in-law to Adil Shaw. Ahmed having attached Hybut Chan, Nisib Chan, Tatar Chan, and other omrahs of Selim Shaw, to his interest, assumed the title of Secunder Shaw, and marching with ten or twelve thousand horse towards Agra, encamped at Firrah, within two crores of that city. Sultan Ibrahim, with seventy thousand horse, came out to meet him, having, in this army, two hundred omrahs who pitched velvet tents, and possessed the dignities of the spear, drum, and colours.

A competitor
in Punjaab

assumes the
title of Se-
cunder Shaw,

Secunder, seeing this formidable army, began to repent of his invasion, and made overtures of peace. The only condition he asked, was the government of Punjâb. But Sultan Ibrahim, puffed up with the pride of his own superiority, would grant him no terms,

A. D. 1554.
Hig. 962.

overthrows
Ibrahim,

who retreats
to Simbol.

Is overthrown
by Himu.

The suba of
Bengal re-
bels.

Ibrahim
again defeat-
ed by Himu,
and by Raja
Ram.

and therefore both armies drew up and engaged. Secunder Shaw committed all the ensigns of royalty to one of his omrahs, and, with a choice body of horse, took post among some trees, where he could not be discovered. Sultan Ibrahim, upon the first charge, broke through the army of Secunder; his troops quitted their ranks, and were intent upon nothing but plunder; when Secunder Shaw, rushing out upon them, struck a panic into the whole army; they immediately took to flight, and were pursued by those whom they had so easily discomfited before.

Sultan Ibrahim, after this defeat, abandoned his capital, and retreated to Simbol. Secunder Shaw took possession both of Agra and Delhi; but he had not long enjoyed his fortune, when he was obliged to march to Punjâb, to oppose Humaioon; for that monarch, having returned from a long exile, was now advancing to recover his dominions.

During the absence of Secunder, Sultan Ibrahim marched towards Calpee; and, at the same time, Adil Shaw dispatched Himu, his vizier, with a formidable army, well appointed in cavalry, elephants, and artillery, from Chinâr, with a view to recover his empire.

Himu engaged Ibrahim at Calpee, and gave him a signal defeat. Ibrahim, flying to his father at Biana, was pursued by Himu, who besieged him in that city, for three months.

In the mean time, Mahummud Chan Gori, suba of Bengal, rebelled, and led an army against Adil Shaw. This circumstance obliged that prince to recall Himu from the siege of Biana; and Ibrahim, emboldened by the retreat of the enemy, pursued them, and coming up with Himu at Mindakir, near Agra, gave him battle; but he was again defeated, and obliged to fly back to his father, at Biana. The restless spirit of Ibrahim could not, however, be still: He marched towards Bhetah, and engaging Raja Ram Churid, of that

that country, was defeated and taken prisoner. He was used with the utmost respect, till the Patans of Miani obtained him from the raja, and appointed him their chief. Under him they commenced a war against Bage Bahadar, suba of Malava; but the bad fortune of Ibrahim still pursued him, he was beat, and fled to Orissa. That province being conquered in the year nine hundred and seventy five, by Solimân Kerrani, the unfortunate Ibrahim was taken and put to death.

To return from this digression; when Himu joined Adil Shaw at Chinâr, he received advices that Humaioon had defeated Secunder Shaw, and possessed himself of Delhi and Agra. Himu, however, marched against Mahummud Chan, suba of Bengal, who gave him the slip, by crossing the hills near Rhotas, and entering the country of Bandelcund. He was pursued thither by Himu: The two armies came to action at the village of Chircut, fifteen crores from Calpee, and Mahummud Chan was slain.

A. D. 1554.
Hig. 962.
Himu defeats
and slays the
suba of Ben-
gal.

Adil Shaw, after this victory, instead of proceeding to Agra, returned to Chinâr, to assemble more troops for carrying on the war with Humaioon. But he was soon after informed of that monarch's death; which induced him to send Himu, with fifty thousand horse, and five hundred elephants, towards Agra, not daring to leave Chinâr himself, on account of the violent factions which then subsisted among the Patans.

Marches to
Agra.

Himu arriving before Agra, the Mogul omrahs who were there, being too weak to oppose him, fled to Delhi. Himu pursued them thither, and Tirdi Beg, governor of Delhi, giving him battle, was defeated, and fled to Punjaab, leaving Himu in possession of both the imperial cities*. Himu meditated the conquest of Lahore; but Byram Chan, the Turkuman, viceroy for Akbar, sent Chan Zemân, a Mogul, with all expedition, towards Delhi. He himself followed, with the young king.

Drives the
Moguls from
Agra,
and from
Delhi.

* Delhi, and Agra.

A. D. 1554.
Hig. 962.

Is over-
thrown,
taken and put
to death.

Himu marched out to meet Chan Zemân, drew up on the plains of Panniput, and charging the Moguls with great bravery, threw them into disorder. But the Afghans, always more mindful of plunder, than of securing victory, were again attacked by the Moguls, and defeated. Himu was surrounded, and taken prisoner, and being carried before the king, condemned to death.

The fortune
of Adil de-
clines.

He is defeat-
ed and slain
by the siba
of Bengal.

After the death of the unfortunate Himu, who had certainly great abilities, notwithstanding his mean descent, the fortune of Adil Shaw declined apace. In the mean time, Chizer Chan, the son of Mahummud Chan Gori, to revenge the death of his father, raised an army, and assuming the title of Sultan Bahadar, possessed himself of a great part of the eastern provinces. He led his army against Adil Shaw, defeated, and slew him. The anarchy and confusions in Hindostan, at this period, rendered it impossible to continue the direct chain of our history in the order of time. We therefore must turn back to what we have omitted of the history of Secunder Shaw, and Humaioon.

SECTION VII.

The reign of SECUNDER SHAW SOOR, and the fall of the Patan Empire.

Secunder
Shaw
his speech to
the omrahs.

SECUNDER SHAW having ascended the throne of Agra, in the year nine hundred and sixty-two, he made a magnificent festival, and calling together all his omrahs, spoke to them to this effect: "I esteem myself as one of you, having thus far acted for the common weal. I claim no superiority. Sultan Beloli raised the tribe of Lodi to an uncommon height of glory and reputation; Shere Chan, by unparalleled conduct and resolution, rendered the tribe of Soor famous to all posterity; and now, Humaioon, heir to his father's conquests, is watching for an opportunity to de-
"stroy

“stroy us all. If, therefore, you sincerely affect my government, <sup>A. D. 1554.
Hig. 962.</sup>
 “and will throw aside private faction and animosities, our kingdom
 “will be adorned with all the flowers of prosperity. But if you
 “should think me incapable of that great charge, let an abler head,
 “and a stronger arm, be elected from among you, that I also may
 “swear allegiance to him; that with my life and fortune I may sup-
 “port him, and endeavor to keep the Empire of Hindostan in the
 “hands of the Afghans, who have ruled it for so many ages by their
 “valor.”

The omrahs, after hearing this speech, answered with one accord, <sup>They elect
him king.</sup>
 “We unanimously elect you, the nephew of Shere Shaw, for our
 “lawful sovereign.” Calling then for a Coran, all swore allegiance
 to the king, and to preserve unanimity among themselves. How-
 ever, in a few days, they began to dispute about governments, honors,
 and places. The flames of enmity were kindled higher than ever,
 and every one reproached his fellow with perfidy, of which he him-
 self was equally guilty.

Humaioon, in the mean time, marched towards Punjâb. Tatar <sup>He is repeat-
edly defeated
by the Mo-
guls.</sup>
 Chan fled from the new fort of Rhotas, to Delhi, and the Moguls
 subdued all the country as far as Lahore. Secunder Shaw, upon re-
 ceiving these advices, sent forty thousand horse, under the command
 of Tatar Chan and Hybut Chan, to expel the Moguls. But this ar-
 my was defeated, lost all their elephants and baggage, never draw-
 ing bridle, till they arrived at Delhi. Secunder Shaw, though
 sensible of the disaffection and factious state of his army, marched
 with eighty thousand horse towards Punjâb, and engaging Byrâm
 Chan, the Turkuman, the tutor of prince Akbar, near Sirhind, was
 defeated, and fled towards the mountains of Sewalic. The empire of
 Hindostan, with this victory, fell again into the hands of the house of
 Baber, and flourished; while, in the mean time, Sultan Adil died in
 Bengal.

SECTION

SECTION VIII.

The transactions of HUMAIOON, from his arrival in Persia, to his return to Hindostan.

A. D. 1544.
Hig. 951.
Humaioon
arrives in
Persia.

WE have already seen that Humaioon, having arrived at Kizvi in Iran, dispatched Byram Chan to the Persian monarch at Ispahan. That omrah accordingly waited upon Shaw Tamasp at Nilack Kidar, between Abher and Sultania, and received an answer which testified the king's great desire to have an interview with Humaioon. The unfortunate sultan accepted, with joy, of the invitation, and in the month of Jemmad ul Awil, in the year nine hundred and fifty one, had a conference with Shaw Tamasp, the son of Shaw Ismaiel Suffvi, and was royally entertained.

The king of Iran, one day, in conversation, asked Humaioon, By what means his weak enemy became so powerful? Humaioon replied, "By the enmity of my brothers." The Persian then told him, "The political manner of treating brothers is not such as they received from you." And being, at that time, at table, as soon as Shaw Tamasp was done eating, Byram Mirza, his brother, who attended him, as a servant, came with the basin and ewer for him to wash *. When this was done, Tamasp turned to Humaioon, and resuming the discourse, said, "In this manner you ought to have treated your brothers." Humaioon, out of compliment to the king, seemed to assent to what he said; which so much offended Byram Mirza, the king's brother, that he never after could forgive him, while he resided at court. He took every opportunity to calumniate Humaioon to the king, and was ever harping in his ears, how much against the interest of Persia it was, that a prince of the line of Timur should sit

* To attend the sovereign in any menial office about his person, is the greatest honor that can be conferred upon a subject in the East.

upon the throne of Hindostan. This maxim Byram Mirza took care A. D. 1544.
Hig. 951. to inculcate upon all who had the king's confidence. This circumstance greatly retarded the affairs of Humaioon, and, at length, wrought so visibly upon the king's disposition, that the unfortunate fugitive began to fear death or imprisonment.

In the mean time, Sultanum Begum, the king's sister, and Cusi Jehan of Kizvi, the high chancellor, in conjunction with Hakîm Noor ul Dien, one of the king's privy counsellors, taking compassion upon Humaioon's distressed situation, joined their interests to work a reconciliation, and to reinstate him in the favor of the king. The wit of Sultanum Begum had a great effect upon this occasion. She, one day, produced a stanza of verses to the king, of her own composition, in the name of Humaioon, extolling his devotion and happy turn of expression in the praise of Ali. This greatly pleased Tamasp, zealous for the sect of the Shiahs, who differ from the Sinnites, the sect whose tenets Humaioon followed. The Shiahs hold Ali to be the only assistant of Mahommed in his apostolic function, but the Sinnites believe in four, adding Osman, Omar, and Abubecker to Ali. The king's
sister and
some omrahs
favor the
cause of
Humaioon.

The king, in short, told his sister, That if Humaioon should become a Shiah, and enforce that doctrine in Hindostan, he would assist him to recover his empire. Sultanum Begum having acquainted Humaioon of these particulars, he was not so much wedded to a sect, as to lose a kingdom for an immaterial difference in a point of religion. He accordingly returned for answer, "That he had always privately favored the opinions of the Shiahs, which was partly the occasion of the animosity subsisting between him and his brothers."

Shaw Tamasp, soon after, had a private conference with Byram Chan, examined him concerning the policy and state of Hindostan; and when he had satisfied himself upon that head, he promised that his son Murad, who was then but an infant, with his general Biddai Chan

A. D. 1545. Chan Cadjar, should accompany Humaioon, with ten thousand horse, to chastise his brothers, and drive them out of Cabul, Candahar, and Buduchshan. Every thing accordingly was, in a short time, got in readiness, and Humaioon took leave of the Persian king. He told him, that he had long proposed to take a tour through Tibrez and Ardebiel, to visit the tomb of Shech Suffi, and then to proceed on his expedition. The king consented to this proposal, and issued orders to all governors through whose territories Humaioon was to pass, to supply him and his army with all necessaries, and treat him in a manner becoming his dignity.

Hig. 952.
The king
gives him
ten thousand
horse.

Humaioon
takes Gar-
rimfere.

Humaioon having visited and paid his devotions at the shrine of Suffi, marched with the young prince Murad, towards Candahar. He invested the fort of Garrimfere, took it, and read the chutba in his own name. Mirza Ashkari, who commanded at Candahar for Camiran, hearing of these proceedings, sent the young prince, the son of Humaioon, Mahummud Akbar, to his uncle at Cabul, and prepared the fort of Candahar for a siege.

Humaioon
invests Can-
dahar.

Humaioon invested it upon the seventh of Mohirrim, in the year nine hundred and fifty two. The siege had been carried on for six months, when Humaioon sent Byrâm Chan with a message to Mirza Camiran, then at Cabul. A tribe of the Patans of Hazara, attacked Byrâm with great resolution, but they were defeated, and that omrah having obtained an audience of Mirza Camiran, according to his instructions made a demand of Candahar, and required a resignation of all those provinces which he had usurped from his brother Humaioon. But it was not to be expected that Mirza Camiran would as yet listen to such a demand, and so the ambassador departed without effecting any thing.

The Persians
discontented.

The Persian kiffelbaches * were now beginning to be discouraged by the length of the siege, and discontented at being commanded by

* Soldiers.

Moguls.

Moguls. This circumstance might have obliged Humaioon to raise the siege, had he not been joined by Mahummud Sultan Mirza, Aligh Beg Mirza, Cufim Hufflein Sultan, Mahummud Mirick, Shere Askun Beg, Fufil Beg, and other omrahs, who, disgusted with Mirza Camiran, had left his service. Some of the besieged deserted also, and joined the king. These favorable circumstances revived the sinking spirits of his army, and equally depressed those of the besieged. Mirza Ashkari desired to capitulate; his request was granted upon honorable terms; he gave up the place, and, much ashamed of his former behavior, waited upon the king.

A. D. 1545.
Hig. 952.

Candahar
taken by
capitulation.

The fort of Candahar, as had been stipulated with Shaw Tamasp, was given to his son Mirza Murad. The winter having now come on, the young prince Murad, Biddai Chan, Abul Fatte Sultan Afshâr, and Sufi Willi Sultan Aridmullu, took up their quarters in the fort, without admitting the Mogul omrahs. This so much disgusted them, that some, having no quarters, went off to Cabul, while Mirza Ashkari, with a view of raising more disturbance, also fled. Ashkari, however, was pursued, and brought back prisoner.

Put into the
hands of the
Persians.

Humaioon, finding inaction more dangerous to his affairs than war, marched towards Cabul. On the way he heard of the death of the young prince Murâd, at Candahar, upon which he returned, with a view to retain that fort as a place of security, till he should make further conquests. Buddai Chan would not hearken to his proposal, which silenced the king, who could not, consistent with gratitude, or his own promise, compel him to deliver up the place.

The young
prince Murad
of Persia dies
at Candahar.

But the urgency of his affairs soon obliged Humaioon to depart from these punctilios of honor. He therefore tacitly permitted Byram Chan, Mirza Aligh Beg, and Hadgee Mahummud Chan, to take what means they could to render themselves masters of the place. These omrahs, accordingly, sent Hadgee Mahummud Chan,

A. D. 1545. and a few enterprizing men, disguised like camel-drivers, among a
 Hig. 952. string of camels, which was then bringing provisions into the fort.
 Humaioon, They fell upon the guards, and dispatched them, while Byram Chan,
 by a strata- and Mirza Aligh Beg, rushed in with a chosen party of horse, and
 gem, seizes possessed themselves of the fort. Biddai Chan returned, by the
 upon Canda- king's permission, to Iran, and Byram Chan was appointed to the
 har. government of Candahar.

The king
 marches to
 Cabul,

The king marched immediately towards Cabul. Mirza Eadgâr
 Nafir, the brother of Baber, flying, at this time, from Mirza
 Shaw Hufflein Arghu, to Cabul, in conjunction with Mirza Hindal,
 the king's brother, joined Humaioon. The king, encamping
 in the environs of Cabul, before the army of his brother, was
 every day joined by some of Camiran's troops, who deserted his
 standards. Even Kipla Beg, one of Mirza Camiran's principal om-
 rahs, came over, with all his adherents. This so much weakened
 Mirza's army, that he was necessitated to shut himself up in the city.
 Humaioon invested the place; but as it was only slightly fortified,
 Camiran evacuated it without fighting, and fled to Ghizni.

invests and
 takes that
 city,

which he
 enters.

The king sent Mirza Hindal in pursuit of his brother, and, on the
 tenth of Ramzân, nine hundred and fifty two, entered Cabul, where
 he found his son Akbar, then four years old, with his mother Begu-
 ma, and, taking him in his arms, he repeated a verse to this pur-
 pose: "Joseph, by his envious brethren, was cast into a well; but
 "he was exalted by Providence to the summit of glory."

Mirza Cami-
 ran, being
 shut out of
 Ghizni, flies
 to Dawir and
 Bicker.

The gates of Ghizni were shut against Mirza Camiran, and he
 was therefore obliged to take refuge at Dawir, among the Patans of
 Hazara. Being very ill received there, he went to Bicker, to Mirza
 Shaw Hufflein, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and prepared
 to support him.

Humaioon,

Humaioon, having left his son Akbar under the tuition of Ma-
 hummud Ali Tiggai, in Cabul, marched in person, in the year nine
 hundred and fifty three, to reduce Buduchshan. Mirza Eadgar Na-
 fir having attempted to stir up a sedition in the royal army, was, upon
 conviction, sentenced to death, though he was uncle to the king.

A. D. 1545.
 Hig. 952.
 Humaioon
 marches
 against
 Buduchshan.

Humaioon having passed Hinderkush and encamped at Neizike-
 ran, Mirza Soliman, with the forces of Buduchshan, came before
 him, but they were defeated in the first charge. The king from
 thence turned towards Talichan, where he fell sick. He, however,
 recovered, at the end of two months, and all the factions which
 had begun to prevail in his army, soon subsided. Chaja Moazim,
 the brother of Chuli Begum *, having had a quarrel at this time
 with Chaja Reshid, killed him, and fled to Cabul, where he was
 ordered to be imprisoned by the king.

Defeats Mir-
 za Soliman.

Mirza Camiran having heard that his brother had marched to
 Buduchshan, made an excursion to Ghorebund. On the way he fell
 in with a caravan of merchants, whom he robbed of all their camels,
 horses, and goods; and, coming to Ghizni, raised a faction among the
 populace, and cut off the governor, Zatrud Beg. Making from thence
 forced marches towards Cabul, he arrived there as they were opening
 the gates in the morning, and took the place by surprize. He killed
 Mahummud Ali Tiggai, the governor, as he stood in the bath, and
 put out the eyes of Fasil Beg and Mheter Vakila. The young
 prince Akbar, and the ladies of the Haram, were given in charge to
 some eunuchs; Hifam ul Dien Alli, the son of Meer Chalifa, was
 put to death.

Mirza Cami-
 ran seizes
 Ghizni, and
 surprizes
 Cabul.

Intelligence of these transactions coming to Humaioon, that prince
 gave the government of Buduchshan to Mirza Soliman, and that of
 Kunduz to Mirza Hindal. He himself returned to Cabul, defeated

* One of the sultanas.

A. D. 1545.
Hig. 952.

Humaioon,
defeating his
brother in se-
veral actions,
sits down be-
fore Cabul.

the army of Camiran, which opposed him at Zohac Ghorebund, came to the town of the Afghans, called Deh Afghân, where Shere Afkun Beg, and all the army of Mirza Camiran had again assembled to oppose him. But the king overthrew them there also, and slew Shere Afkun Beg in the action. He proceeded from thence to Cabul, and sat down before that city, skirmishing every day with the enemy. Mirza Camiran, having received intelligence that a caravan was passing, wherein there was a great number of fine horses, sent Shere Alli, a bold enterprizing officer, with a strong detachment, to seize and bring it into the city. Humaioon marched round the walls, and cut off Shere Alli's retreat, so that, when he came to enter the city, he was attacked and defeated with great slaughter.

Several chiefs
join the king.

Mirza Cami-
ran's cruelty.

Mirza Soliman, from Buduchshan, Mirza Aligh Beg, and Casim Haffin Sultan, with several chiefs from Byram Chan, had now joined the king, while Kirrache Chan and Baboos Beg deserted from the city to his army. Mirza Camiran, in the rage of despair, basely murdered the three sons of Baboos Beg, and threw their mangled bodies over the wall. He, at the same time, bound the young prince and Kirrache Chan's son to a stake, and raised them up to view upon the battlements. But he was given to understand, that if he put them to death, every soul in the place should be massacred.

He evacuates
Cabul.

Seizes upon
Buduchshan.

Camiran thought proper to desist from his intended cruelty, and that very night, making a breach in the wall, evacuated the place, and fled towards the skirts of the hills, leaving Humaioon a second time, in possession of Cabul. Mirza Camiran, in his retreat, was plundered, and even stript of his cloaths, by the Afghans of Hazara; but when they discovered him, they conducted him to his garrison at Ghorebund. He, however, did not think himself secure there, and therefore he hastened to Balich, where Pier Mahummud Chan, governor of that city, joined him, and assisted him in subduing Buduchshan. They drove Mirza Soliman and his son Mirza Ibrahim towards Kolâb.

Kirrache

Kirrache Chan, Baboos Beg, and some other omrahs, being, about this time, disgusted with the behavior of Chaja Ghazi, the vizier, wanted the king to disgrace him, and appoint Chaja Casim to his office. Humaioon, satisfied of the integrity of this minister, would by no means consent, which irritated them so much, that they left the king's service, and went over to Mirza Ashkari in Buduchshan. The king pursued them in their flight, but not being able to come up with them, returned to Cabul, and called to him Mirza Ibrahim and Mirza Hindal from their respective governments. The former having fallen in by accident with Timur Alli, one of those who had fled, cut him off, and brought his head to the king. Mirza Hindal having also met Shere Alli, brought him back prisoner.

A. D. 1545.
Hig. 952.

Several omrahs desert Humaioon.

Mirza Camiran having left Kirrache Chan at Kushum, went in person to Taleckân. Humaioon detached Mirza Hindal and Hadgee Mahummud Koka, with a considerable force, to drive Kirrache Chan from thence. That omrah having received intelligence of their coming, acquainted Mirza Camiran, who, with great expedition, returned to Kushum, and fell in with Mirza Hindal, in crossing the river of Talickân, when his troops were divided. He defeated Hindal, cut off a great part of his detachment, and seized upon all his baggage.

Mirza Camiran defeats his brother Hindal.

Humaioon, in a few days, advanced with the army from Cabul, which obliged Mirza Camiran to fly towards Talickân, and leave all his plunder, as well as his own baggage. He was, the day after his retreat, invested in the fort, and as he despaired of the assistance of the Usbecks, to whom he had applied, he requested leave of his brother Humaioon, to make a pilgrimage to Mecca. Humaioon, with a good-natured weakness, consented, and both the perfidious Camiran and Mirza Ashkari came out of the place, and proceeded about ten pharsangs on their way. When they found that Humaioon did not send troops to seize them, nor attempt to detain them, as they

Flies before Humaioon.

Besieged in Talickân, and submits.

A. D. 1545.
Hig. 952.

they imagined, they were ashamed of their own behavior, and thought it more eligible to trust to his clemency, than turn mendicant pilgrims. With this resolution they returned.

He is treated
with respect
by Humai-
oon.

His treason-
able designs.

Humaioon
defeats the
Usbecks ;

The king having heard of their return, sent persons to congratulate them, and treated them with great respect. Humaioon, after these transactions, returned to Cabul. Pier Mahummud Chan, the Usbeck, having made some incursions into Humaioon's territories, in the year nine hundred and fifty six, the king determined to take, if possible, satisfaction for the affront. He, for that purpose, marched towards Balich. Mirza Camiran and Mirza Ashkari accompanied him, and begun again to hatch treason. The king perceived their treachery, but took no effectual steps to prevent its effect.

Humaioon arriving in the environs of Balich, Shaw Mahummud Sultan came before him with only three thousand Usbeck horse, and stopt his progress. The Usbeck chief was, on the second day, reinforced by Pier Mahummud Chan, Abdul Aziz Chan, and the princes of Hassar, and was thus enabled to march out with thirty thousand horse to give battle. Mirza Soliman, Mirza Hindal, and Hadgee Mahummud Sultan, defeated the advanced parties, and pressed so hard upon Pier Mahummud and Abdul Aziz Chan, that they thought proper to retreat within the city.

The king was desirous of pursuing the enemy. This resolution, had it been followed, would certainly have had a good effect, as the enemy were preparing to evacuate the place. But unfortunately the king suffered his own better judgment to be over-ruled by his omrahs, who suggested their apprehensions from Mirza Camiran, and advised the king to incamp somewhere near the city, which would fall into his hands in the course of things. This pernicious advice was accordingly followed. No ground proper for incamping being near, the king was obliged to retreat to a small distance. The troops
being

being ordered to move back, apprehended that danger was near; when the enemy actually construed the retreat of Humaioon into a real flight. By this double mistake the Moguls were intimidated, and the Usbecks received fresh spirits. They immediately fell upon Mirza Soliman and Houssein Cooli Sultan, who brought up the rear, forced them upon the main body, where the king commanded in person. He gallantly opposed them hand to hand, and with his spear dismounted the officer who led on the attack. His brother Hindal, Tirdi Beg, and Tolick Chan Couchi supported Humaioon with great bravery; but they soon found themselves deserted by all their troops, and were obliged to save themselves by flight.

A. D. 1545.
Hig. 952.

and is, in his
turn, over-
thrown.

After this unfortunate action, the imperial army retreated towards Cabul. The king, on his way, was deserted by the perfidious Mirza Camiran and Mirza Ashkari, who had not joined in the action. The king, justly resenting their behavior, wrote to Alli Beg, one of Mirza Camiran's omrahs, and made him great promises if he would seize his master, and send him prisoner to court; dispatching, at the same time, sent Mirza Soliman and Hindal in pursuit of him.

Retreats to
Cabul, and is
deserted by
his brother
Camiran.

Mirza Camiran, laying aside all his ensigns of state, attempted, by the way of Zohac and Bamia, to pass to Sind. The king, informed of his motions, sent a party to intercept him; but Kirrache Chan and Hafim Houssein Sultan, who had remained with Humaioon, wrote privately to Camiran, and acquainted him with all that past. These perfidious omrahs, being now ashamed of no villainy, told Camiran, that, as the greatest part of the king's troops were detached from his person, if he would return, they would join him in the action. Camiran did not let this favorable opportunity slip through his hands. He returned, by the way of Kipchach, whither, the king, having intelligence of him, advanced to meet him. The battle was no sooner begun, than Kirrache Chan, and his perfidious adherents, went over to him, and turned upon Humaioon, who, with a few faithful friends, fought

A. D. 1545. fought with great resolution. Pier Mahummud Achtey, and Ahmed, Hig. 952. the son of Mirza Kulli, being slain by the king's side, and he himself wounded in the head, as well as his horse, he was forced to abandon the field, and to fly to Bamia, and from thence to Buduchshan, leaving Camiran to possess himself, a third time, of Cabul.

Humaioon in great distress.

Humaioon was now in great distress, for money to pay the few troops, who had continued faithful to his fortunes. He was obliged to borrow the horses, camels, and merchandize of some great caravans, with which he mounted and paid his troops. He privately sent Shaw Biddagh, Toglich Chan Kouchi, Mudgnow Chan, and others, to the number of ten persons, to support his interest at Cabul, and to send him intelligence of what passed in that city. But of all these, Toglick Chan alone remained true to his interest, which they now found was greatly declined. Mirza Soliman, Mirza Ibrahim, and his brother Hindal, returning with their detachments to join the king, he found himself again in a condition to make an attempt to recover his kingdom; and he accordingly marched towards Cabul.

Defeats Camiran.

Mirza Camiran, upon the approach of Humaioon, came out, and drew up on the banks of the Pungur. Camiran was defeated with great slaughter, and in his flight he was obliged to shave his head and beard, to escape, in the disguise of a mendicant, to the mountains of Lingaan. Mirza Ashkari was taken prisoner, and the perfidious Kirrache Chan was killed in the engagement.

Returns to Cabul.

Humaioon now returned in triumph to Cabul; where he enjoyed a whole year in peace and festivity. Intelligence was brought to him, that the restless Mirza Camiran was again at the head of fifteen hundred horse, while Hadgee Mahummud Chan and Baba Kishka fled from the royal presence to Ghizni. The king marched against his brother, who fled towards the Nilab; so that Humaioon, without effecting any thing, returned to Cabul.

Mirza

Mirza Camiran no sooner heard of his brother's retreat, than he returned again among the Afghans to raise up more disturbances. Humaioon was under the necessity of taking the field a second time. He wrote to Byram Chan, at Candahar, to march against Hadjee Mahummud Chan, who fled to Ghizni, and invited Mirza Camiran to join him at that place. Camiran, by the way of Peshawir, Bungleish, and Curvez, was then on his march towards Ghizni: But before his arrival, Byram Chan had come to Ghizni, and carried Hadjee Mahummud Chan prisoner to Cabul. Mirza Camiran, disappointed of his ally, returned again to Peshawir, and the king directed his march to Cabul.

A. D. 1551.
Hig. 958.
Camiran
raises dis-
turbances
among the
Afghans.

Transactions
at Cabul.

Before the arrival of Humaioon at his capital, Hadjee Mahummud found means to escape, a second time, to Ghizni, from whence he was persuaded to return; no doubt, upon the most sacred assurances of pardon. Mirza Ashkari having preferred a petition to the king, soliciting his releasement from prison, in order to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca, was now sent to Mirza Soliman, at Buduchshan, to proceed to Balich. Ashkari died in the year nine hundred and sixty one, in his way crossing the Arabian deserts.

Mirza Camiran was, in the mean time, levying troops among the Afghans, and carrying on a private correspondence with Hadjee Mahummud. The treason was discovered, and the old traitor condemned to death. Humaioon had, by this time, marched against Camiran; but he was surprized in his camp, near Chiber, the twenty first of Zicada, nine hundred and fifty eight, in the night; upon which occasion Mirza Hindal lost his life. Camiran, however, gained no advantage but the death of his brother, being overthrown by Humaioon, and obliged to take shelter again among the Patans. The king, after this victory, returned to Cabul, and in gratitude to the memory of Hindal, who had so well expiated his former disobedience, by his services and blood, he gave the daughter of that prince, Rickia Sultana Begum, to his son Akbar in marriage. He conferred, at the same time, upon the royal pair, all the wealth of Hindal; and

Camiran's
correspon-
dence with
Hadjee disco-
vered.

Mirza Hindal
killed and
Camiran de-
feated.

A. D. 1552. appointed Akbar to the command of his uncle's troops, and to his
Hig. 959. government of Ghizni.

The Afghans
rise in his fa-
vor, and are
forced to ex-
pel him.

The Afghans, a few months after these transactions, rose in favor of Camiran. The king marched into their country, which he laid waste with fire and sword. Finding, at last, that they got nothing but mischief to themselves by adhering to Camiran, they withheld their aid, and expelled him from their country.

He flies to
Selim Shaw.

The desolate Camiran fled to Hindostan, and was reduced to solicit the protection of Selim Shaw, whom he beheld, by his own baseness, ruling his father's empire. But it was not expected that Selim would treat Camiran favorably. The unfortunate fugitive fled from the court of Delhi, and, like a poor vagabond, sought protection from the raja of Nagercot. Being from thence hunted by Selim Shaw, he fled among the Gickers.

Mirza Ca-
miran deli-
vered up to
the king.

Mirza Hyder, in the mean time, requested the assistance of Humaioon, to quell some disturbances in Cashmire. The king accordingly marched towards Hindostan, and crossed the Nilâb. Sultan Adam, the prince of the Gickers, fearing the king's resentment, for giving protection to Mirza Camiran, imprisoned the unhappy man, and acquainted the king, that he was ready to deliver him over to any body he should be pleased to send. The king dispatched Monim Chan to Sultan Adam, and Mirza Camiran was accordingly given up to him, and brought to the king.

At the gene-
ral request of
the army his
eyes are put
out.

The Chagittais, to a man, solicited that he should be put to death, that he might distress them no more; but the king would, by no means, consent to embrue his hands in the blood of his brother, however deserving he was of death. Humaioon, on account of his lenity, was threatened with a general sedition in his army, and every body openly complained of that merciful disposition in the king, by which his subjects were so often involved in misfortunes. He was, at last, though much against his will, necessitated to permit them to render Camiran blind, by means of antimony.

Some

Some days after this sentence was executed upon the unfortunate prince, the king went to see him. Camiran immediately rose, and walked some steps forward to meet him, saying: "The glory of the king will not be diminished by visiting the unfortunate." Humaioun immediately bursting into tears, wept very bitterly: Mirza Camiran endeavored to comfort him, by confessing the justice of his own punishment, and, by way of expiating his crimes, requested leave to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca. His request was granted, and he proceeded by the way of Sind. Having resided three years in Mecca, he died in that place, in the year nine hundred and sixty four. He left one son, Abul Carim, who was some time after his father's death assassinated, by the order of Akbar, in the fort of Gualier; Camiran had also three daughters.

A. D. 1553.
Hig. 961.
The king visits him.

Camiran goes on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and dies there.

Humaioun being now delivered from the restless spirit of Camiran, began to extend his dominions. He first turned his arms towards Cashmire. Selim Shaw having, at that time, advanced to Punjaab, his omrahs represented to Humaioun, that, if he should enter Cashmire, as there was but one pass through which he could return; that Selim Shaw might block up his rear, and reduce him to great distress. The king, however, would not listen to their representations; but marched towards Cashmire. Having advanced about half way, a mutiny arose in the army, and the greatest part of the omrahs refused to proceed; while others actually returned to Cabul. This obliged Humaioun to take a circuit, by the way of Sind, ordering a fort, called Bickeram, to be built in his rout. In Bickeram he left a garrison under Secunder Chan.

Humaioun marches towards Cashmire.

Returns.

When the king arrived in Cabul, he sent his son Akbar to his government of Ghizni, under the charge of Jellal ul dien Mamood. In the year nine hundred and sixty-one, the king had another son born to him at Cabul, whom he named Mahummud Hakim.

Akbar sent to his government of Ghizni.

In the course of this year, Humaioun was rendered jealous of Byram Chan, by the calumny of some of his courtiers, who pretended, that that great man was carrying on intrigues with the Persian govern-

A. D. 1554.
Hig. 962.
Humaioon
marches to
Candahar.

ment. The King marched towards Candahar, by the way of Ghizni. Byram Chan, who was quite innocent of the charge, when he heard of the King's approach, came out, with five or six friends only, to congratulate him upon his arrival, and to lay his offerings at his feet. The king soon plainly perceived that he had been abused, and satisfying Byram Chan with reasons for his coming, spent two months there in festivity. The calumniators of Byram Chan were disgraced, and he himself loaded with favors. Byram Chan was, however, afraid, that the repeated calumnies of his enemies might find way at last into the king's mind; he therefore earnestly requested, that the government should be bestowed on some other omrah, and that he might be permitted to attend his sovereign. But the king would by no means consent to a thing, which might have the appearance of a slur upon the conduct of his faithful servant. When they parted, Byram Chan obtained the district of Dawir for Bahadur Chan and Shubiani Chan, who remained with him.

The inhabi-
tants of Del-
hi and Agra
invite him to
Hindostan.

Much about this time an address was received from the inhabitants of Delhi and Agra, acquainting Humaioon, that Selim Shaw was dead, and that all the tribes of the Patans were engaged in a civil war: That it was, therefore, a proper opportunity for the king to return and take possession of his empire. Humaioon was in no condition to raise a sufficient army for that enterprize, and he became extremely melancholy.

Humaioon
communi-
cates his un-
easiness to
his omrahs.

A curious
method of
divination.

The king being one day upon a hunting party, told some of his omrahs, that he was very uneasy in his mind, about the execution of his designs upon Hindostan. Some of them, who were desirous to make the attempt, consulted among themselves, and hit upon a successful stratagem to bring the king to an immediate resolution. They therefore told him, that there was an old method of divination, by sending a person before, and asking the names of the three first persons he met, from which a conclusion, good or bad, might be formed, according to their meaning. The king, being naturally superstitious, ordered this to be done. He sent three horsemen in front, who were

to come back and acquaint him of the answers they received. The first horseman who returned told the king, that he had met with a traveller whose name was Dowlat *. The next brought advice, that he met a man who called himself Murâd †. And the third, that he met with a villager, whose name was Sâdit ‡.

A. D. 1554.
Hig. 962.

The king discovered great joy upon this occasion, and though he could only collect fifteen thousand horse, determined to undertake an expedition into Hindostan. He left to Monim Chan the government of Cabul, and the tuition of his young son Mahummud Hakim, and in the month of Siffer, nine hundred and fixty-two, began his march from his capital. The king was joined at Peshawir by Byram Chan, with all his veterans from Candahar. When he had crossed the Nilab §, he appointed Byram Chan his captain general, and ordered him to lead the van with Chaja Chizer Chan, Tirdi Beg Chan, Secunder Sultan, and Alli Koli Shubiani.

Humaioon
resolves to
invade Hin-
dostan.

Crosses the
Nilab.

Upon the approach of the king, Tatar Chan, who commanded the new fort of Rhotas, evacuated the place and fled to Delhi. Humaioon pursued Tatar to Lahore, which place was also evacuated by the Patans, and the king peaceably entered the city. From Lahore he dispatched Byram Chan to Sirhind, and that able general possessed himself of all the country as far as that place.

Rhotas eva-
cuated.
He enters La-
hore.

The king having received intelligence, that a body of Afghans, commanded by Shubas Chan and Nisir Chan, were assembled at Dibalpoor, he ordered Shaw Abul Mali, whom he used to honor with the name of son, with a strong detachment against them. Abul Mali having overthrown them, returned with the plunder of their camp to Lahore. The Emperor Secunder Shaw had, in the mean time, ordered Tatar Chan and Hybut Chan, with an army of thirty or forty thousand horse from Delhi, against Humaioon; but Byram Chan, notwithstanding their great superiority in number, was determined to risque a battle, crossed the Suttuluz, advanced boldly to meet them, and pitched his camp upon the banks of the river of Bidgwarrah.

Defeats some
Afghans at
Dibalpoor.

Secunder
Shaw sends
an army a-
gainst Hu-
maioon,

* Fortune or prosperity.

† Desire or inclination.

‡ Happiness.

§ The western branch of the Indus.

A. D. 1554.
Hig. 962.

which is
overthrown
by Byram
Chan,

who possesses
himself of the
country to
the gates of
Delhi.

Secunder
Shaw
marches a-
gainst the
Moguls.

Humaioon
joins his ge-
neral Byram,
at Sirhind.

Prince Akbar
marshals the
Mogul army.

It being winter, the Patans kindled great fires of wood in their camp, which Byram Chan observing, he crossed the river with a thousand chosen horse, and advancing near their camp without being discovered, began to gall those who crouded round the fires with arrows, which raised an uproar in the camp. But the Patans, instead of extinguishing their fires, which prevented them from seeing the enemy, while the enemy had a fair view of them, by means of the light, threw on more wood. In the mean time, the whole of Byram Chan's army having crossed the river, fell upon the enemy from all sides, routed them, and took all their elephants, baggage, and a number of horses.

Byram Chan sent the elephants to the king, at Lahore, and encamped at Matchiwarrah. He dispersed detachments on all sides, and possessed himself of all the country, almost to the walls of Delhi. The king was greatly rejoiced when he heard of this victory, and conferred upon Byram Chan the title of Chan Chanan, Eâr Offadar, Humdum Ghumgufar *.

When the news arrived of the overthrow of Tatar Chan, Secunder Shaw exacted an oath of fidelity from his omrahs, and marched with eighty thousand horse, a great train of artillery, and a number of elephants, towards Punjaab. Byram Chan thought proper to shut himself up in Sirhind, and to provide against a siege, by laying in provisions, and throwing up new works. Secunder Shaw encamped before Sirhind, and Byram Chan sent continual letters to Lahore, to hasten the king to his relief. Humaioon accordingly marched, joined Byram, made repeated sallies from the city, and greatly distressed the enemy in their camp.

Upon the last day of Rigib, when the young prince Akbar was going the rounds of the camp, the Patans drew up their forces, and offered battle. This had the intended effect on the impetuous young prince, who could not bear to be insulted. He accordingly having obtained his father's permission, drew out the army. Humaioon gave

* These titles signify, the lord of lords, the grateful friend, and the grief-expelling companion.

the command of the right to Chan Chanan, and the left to Secunder Chan, which was composed of the troops of Abdulla Chan Usbeck, Shaw Abul Mali, Alla Kulla Chan Bahader, and Tirdi Beg Chan, who were to begin the action. He took post in person in the center, and advanced slowly towards the enemy, who waited the attack. The left wing having charged, according to the orders which they had received, the enemy were broke, and they never after recovered from the confusion into which they were thrown. The action, however, continued warm for some time; Humaioon and his gallant general Chan Chanan displayed great conduct, while the young prince Akbar distinguished himself with acts of personal valor. The Moguls were so animated by the behavior of that young hero, that they seemed even to forget that they were mortal men. The enemy, at last, were driven off the field, with very great slaughter, and Secunder Shaw fled, with precipitation, to the mountains of Sewalic.

A. D. 1554.
Hig. 962.

The battle
begins.

The Patans
overthrown.

This victory decided the fate of the empire, which fell for ever from the Patans. Secunder Chan, the Usbeck, and some other omrahs were detached to take possession of Delhi and Agra, which they effected without opposition. Humaioon conferred the government of the province of Punjaab upon Abul Mali, and ordered him to pursue Secunder Shaw.

The empire
transferred
from the Pa-
tans to the
Moguls.

In the month of Ramzan the king entered Delhi, in triumph, and became, a second time, Emperor of Hindostan. Byram Chan, to whose valor and conduct the king, in a great measure, owed his restoration, was now rewarded with the first offices in the state, and had princely jagiers assigned to him. Tirdi Beg Chan was appointed to the government of Delhi; the superintendency of Agra was given to Secunder Chan, and Alli Kulli Chan was made viceroy of Merat and Simbol; for which department he set out with a considerable force.

The king en-
ters Delhi.

Promotions
at court.

As Shaw Abul Mali, on account of disputes with the omrahs in his army, had permitted Secunder Shaw to become daily more formidable, the king dispatched his son Akbar, under the direction of Byram Chan, against him. Much about this time, a man of low birth,

Akbar sent
against Se-
cunder Shaw.

A. D. 1555. birth, who became famous, under the name of Kumber Drivan, raised
 Hig. 963. a rebellion in Simbol, and, collecting a great force, plundered the
 provinces between the rivers. He was, however, on the fifth of
 Ribbi ul Awil, nine hundred and sixty three, defeated and slain by
 Alli Kulli, and the insurrection totally quashed.

The king's
 death.

In the evening of the seventh of Ribbi ul Awil, Humaioon walked
 out upon the terrace of the library, and sat down there for some time
 to enjoy the fresh air. When the Emperor began to descend the steps
 of the stair from the terrace, the crier, according to custom, pro-
 claimed the time of prayers. The king, conformable to the practice
 of religion, stood still upon this occasion, and repeated the Culma *,
 then sat down upon the second step of the stair till the proclamation
 should be ended. When he was going to rise he supported himself
 upon a staff, which unfortunately slipped upon the marble, and the king
 fell headlong from the top to the bottom of the stair. He was taken
 up insensible, and laid upon his bed ; he soon recovered his speech,
 and the physicians administered all their art : But in vain, for upon
 the eleventh, about sunset, his soul took her flight to Paradise. He
 was buried in the new city, upon the banks of the river ; and a noble
 tomb was erected over him, some years after, by his son Akbar.
 Humaioon died at the age of fifty one, after a reign of twenty five
 years, both in Cabul and Hindostan.

His charac-
 ter.

The mildness and benevolence of Humaioon were excessive : If
 there can be any excess in virtues so noble as these. His affection to
 his brothers proved the source of all his misfortunes ; but they re-
 warded him with ingratitude and contempt. He was learned, a lover
 of literature, and the generous patron of the men of genius, who
 flourished in his time. In battle he was valiant and enterprizing : But
 the clemency of his disposition hindered him from using his victories
 in a manner which suited the vices of the times. Had he been less
 mild and religious, he would have been a more successful prince : Had
 he been a worse man, he would have been a greater monarch.

* The Creed.

PART VI.

The Reign of SHAW JUMJA ABUL MUZIFFER GELLAL UL DIEN MAHUMMUD AKBAR PADSHAW GHAZI.

SECTION I.

The History of AKBAR, from his Accession to the Defeat and Death of HIMU.

SHECH ABUL FAZIL, the most elegant writer of Hindostan, has given to the world the history of the renowned Akbar, in three volumes, called Akbar namma. From that historian, we shall chiefly extract the transactions of this reign.

A. D. 1555.
Higer. 963.

When Humaioon became insensible after his fall, the Omrahs sent Shech Chuli express to Punjab, to acquaint Akbar of the accident which had befallen his father. Not many days after, the news of his father's death came to the prince at Callanore. The Omrahs, who were present, after expressing their grief for the deceased, raised Akbar to the throne, on the

Mahummud
Akbar mounts
the throne at
Callanore.

A. D. 1555.
Higer. 963.

second of Rubbi ul Sani, in the year 963, being then thirteen years and nine months old.

Byram's wife
administra-
tion.

Byram Chan, on the accession of Akbar, became absolute regent, and had the whole civil and military power of the empire in his hands. The first orders issued from the throne, after dispatching the letters of proclamation, were, to prohibit the exaction of Peshcush money, from the farmers; to let all goods pass toll-free, and to prevent the injurious practice of pressing labourers to the war.

Abul imprisoned at Lahore.

Not many days after the accession of Akbar, Shaw Abul Mali, who began to discover treasonable intentions, was seized and imprisoned in Lahore. He, however, found means, some time after, to escape; and Pulwan Gul, the Cutwal, to whose charge he was committed, killed himself.

Akbar defeats Secunder Shaw.

The king led his army towards the hills, with a view to exterminate the party of Secunder Shaw: he defeated Secunder, and obliged him to fly farther among the mountains; whither the imperial army could not pursue him. Akbar, in the mean time, subdued the country of Nagracot; received the Raja of that province into favor; and the rains coming on, took up his quarters at Jallender.

Mirza Solimân rebels in Buduchshan.

In the mean time, Mirza Solimân, who had been left governor of Buduchshan, threw off his allegiance, set up for himself, and marched against Cabul. That city was defended by Monim Chan, the tutor of Mahammud Hakim, the king's brother. Intelligence of this rebellion being brought to Akbar, he immediately detached Mahummud Kulli Chan Burlafs, Chan Azim, Chizer Chaja, and other Omrahs, to succour Monim Chan.

Some

Some of those Omrahs entered Cabul, while others encamped without, to harrafs the besiegers; which they continued to do for the space of four months. The garrison, in the mean time, became to be distressed for provisions; which obliged Monim Chan, to consent, that the chutba, for the kingdom of Cabul, should be read in the name of Solimân. The rebel, after this submission, raised the siege, and returned to Buduchshan.

A. D. 1555.
Higer. 963.

During these transactions at Cabul, Himu, the vizier of Mahummud Shaw Adili, of Bengal, advanced towards Agra, with thirty thousand horse and two thousand elephants. He obliged Secunder Chan, the governor of that city, to retreat to Delhi. Shadi Chan, an Afghan Omrah of Shaw Adili, in the mean time, raised an army, and advanced to the banks of the Rehib; where Alli Kulli Chan Seiftani, entituled Chan Ziman, with three thousand horse, crossing the river, attacked him, but was defeated; and carried only two hundred of his army, alive, from the field; those who escaped the sword, being drowned in the river.

Cabul submits to him.

Himu, the vizier of Shaw Adili, takes Agra,

Himu having taken Agra, marched towards Delhi, where Tirdi Chan commanded. Tirdi sent expresses to all the Omrahs around, soliciting succours, and was joined by Abdulla Chan, Lal Sultan Buduchshi, Alli Kulli Inderani, Merick Chan Kullabi, and others; and then he thought himself in a condition to give the enemy battle, without waiting for Chan Ziman; who, with several other Omrahs, and a considerable reinforcement, was marching to his assistance. Himu, who was a very valiant man, selected three thousand chosen horse, and some of his best elephants, which he posted about his own person in the center; and with which he charged Tirdi Beg so violently, that he drove him quite off the field. Himu then fell, with great impetuosity,

advances to Delhi,

defeats Tirdi Beg, and takes Delhi.

A. D. 1555.
Higer. 963.

upon the right wing, which he routed so that the flight became general. This victory was so compleat, that in consequence of it, the city immediately surrendered; and Tirdi Beg, flying to Sirhind, left all the country open to the enemy. Chan Ziman, having received intelligence of this disaster, at Merat, hastened also to Sirhind.

The king
in great per-
plexity.

Devolves his
power upon
Byram Chan.

The king, during these transactions, was at Jallender; and, finding all his dominions, except Punjab, wrested from him, was greatly affected with the news of Himu's success. He called to him Byram Chan, then distinguished by the name of Chan Chanan, and conferred upon him the honorable title of Chan Baba*. He told that able man, that he reposed his whole trust in his prudence and good conduct, in this perilous situation of affairs, and desired that he might take whatever measures he thought most conducive to retrieve his affairs. He, at the same time, assured Byram, in the most solemn manner, that he would give no attention to any malicious insinuations which might be suggested to the royal ear by his enemies. The young prince having thus expressed the genuine sentiments of his soul to Byram, he made him swear, by the soul of his father Humaioon, and by the head of his own son, that he would be faithful to the great trust, which was now reposed in him.

A council of
war is called.

A council of war was immediately called, in which Byram Chan presided. The majority of the Omrahs were of opinion, that as the enemy consisted of above a hundred thousand horse, while the royal army scarce amounted to twenty thousand, it would be most prudent to retreat to Cabul. Byram Chan strenuously opposed this measure, and was almost singular in his

* Baba signifies father.

opinion,

opinion, which was to give battle instantly to the enemy. The young king joined Byram's sentiments with so much warmth and gallant anxiety, that the Omrahs cried out, in rapture, that their lives and fortunes were at his service.

A. D. 1555.
Higer. 963.

It is resolved
to engage the
enemy.

Immediate hostilities being resolved upon, Chaja Chizer Chan, who was married to the king's aunt, Gulbaddin Begum, was appointed governor of Lahore, to act against Secunder Shaw; while the king himself prepared, in person, to chastise Himu. He marched to Sirhind, and was there joined by his defeated Omrahs, who had assembled at that place.

The king
marches a-
gainst Himu.

The king being out, one day, at the diversion of hawking, Byram Chan, called Tirdi Beg to his tent, and ordered him to be beheaded for abandoning Delhi, where he might have defended himself, and for other unmilitary crimes, with which he was justly charged. When Akbar returned, Byram Chan waited upon him, and informed him of what he had done; he excused himself for not acquainting the king of his intentions, by insinuating, that he was certain his royal clemency was so great, that notwithstanding Tirdi's crimes, he would have forgiven him; which, at such a time, would be attended with very dangerous consequences, as the hopes of the Moguls rested upon every individual's strict performance of duty. He affirmed, that negligence was, in such a critical situation, as great a crime as treason, and ought to meet with an equal punishment. But that, on the other hand, desert should meet with reward: for a dangerous crisis, is the season of strict justice, in both respects. Without his reward, the soldier becomes languid and discontented; when he fears no punishment, he becomes negligent and insolent.

Byram Chan
punishes Tir-
di Beg.

The

A. D. 1556.
Higer. 964.

The king saw into the propriety of the measure, but he shuddered at the inhumanity of the punishment. He, however, thanked Byram for the service which he had done him ; and, indeed, though the policy of that minister was severe, it had the intended effect among the Omrahs. They saw that they had nothing to hope, and every thing to fear from faction and bad behaviour ; and therefore, they became very obedient to the orders of Byram Chan.

Akbar marches towards Delhi.

The king soon after marched from Sirhind towards Delhi, detaching Secunder Chan, Abdulla Chan, Alla Kulli Inderani, Lal Sultan, Mahummud Chan Jellaher, Mudjenu Chan Cashkal, and others, under the command of Chan Ziman, Amir ul Omrah *, some miles in his front. Himu, who had assumed the title of Raja Bickermajit, in Delhi, having attached Shadi Chan, and other Afghan Omrahs to his interest, marched out of that city with all his forces ; which, by the lowest computation, exceeded a hundred thousand horse, besides elephants and infantry, with a great train of artillery. He detached, in front, a great body of Afgans, with some artillery, which falling in with Chan Ziman, were defeated by that general, with the loss of all their guns, which proved a signal advantage to the king. Himu having arrived at Panniput, heard that the king was advanced very near him. He divided his elephants, in which he greatly confided, among his principal officers.

The vanguard of the Afgans defeated.

Himu arrives at Panniput.

A general action.

In the morning of the second of Mohirrim, 964, Chan Ziman, who had been, by that time, joined by the whole army except a few, who remained to guard the king, drew up in order of battle, and waited the attack. Himu began the action with his

* Captain-general.

elephants,

elephants, in hopes of frightening the Mogul cavalry, who were not accustomed to those enormous animals. He, however, found that he was deceived. The Chigittai Omrahs, either from a fear of the fate of Tirdi Beg, or from a nobler cause, their own valor, attacked Himu, with such resolution, after he had penetrated the center of the Mogul army, where Ziman commanded, that the elephants, galled with lances, arrows and javelins, became quite outrageous, and submitting no longer to command, fell back and disordered the Afgan ranks.

A. D. 1555.
Higer. 964.

The Afgans
broke.

Himu, who rode a prodigious elephant, still continued the action with great vigor, at the head of four thousand horse, in the very heart of the Moguls; being at last, pierced through the eye, with an arrow, the greatest part of his troops, fearing that his wound was mortal, forsook him. But that valiant man, drew the eye out of the socket, with the arrow; and, in that terrible condition, continued the fight with unequalled resolution and courage. He encouraged the few who remained by his side, and advanced through a bloody path which his weapons made; till Kulli Chan Mhiram stretched his spear to kill the driver of Himu's elephant: that timorous wretch, to save his own life, pointed to Himu, and addressing him, by name, said, he would carry him whithersoever he pleased. Kulli Chan, immediately surrounded him with a body of horse, and carried him prisoner to Akbar, whom Byram Chan, as upon him rested the hopes of all, detained in the rear.

The bravery
of Himu.

He is taken
prisoner.

When the unfortunate Himu was brought into the presence, almost expiring with his wounds, Byram Chan told the king, that it would be a meritorious action in him, to kill that brave infidel with his own hand. Akbar, in compliance to the advice of his tutor, drew his sword, but only gently touched the head of

and slain.

A. D. 1556.
Higer. 964.

of Himu, bursting into tears of compassion. Byram, looking sternly upon the king, insinuated, that the ill-timed clemency of his family, was the source of all their misfortunes, and with one stroke of the sabre, severed Himu's head from his body.

Akbar arrives
at Delhi.

Akbar took, in this action, fifteen hundred elephants, and all the artillery of the enemy. He immediately marched from the field, and took possession of Delhi. From that city, he dispatched Mullu Pier Mahummud Shirwani, manager of the private affairs of Byram, towards Mewat, to seize the treasure of Himu, which was deposited in that place. This service was accomplished, with some loss on the side of the Moguls; and the empire, in some measure, returned to its former tranquillity.

SECTION II.

The History of SULTAN AKBAR, from the Death of HIMU, to that of BYRAM CHAN.

The Persians
besiege and
take Kanda-
har.

SULTAN HUSSEIN, the grandson of Shaw Ismaiel Suffvi advanced, this year, by the orders of Shaw Tamasp of Iran, and laid siege to Kandahar. After a sharp engagement, before the walls, with Mahummud Kandahari, who commanded in the place, as deputy of Byram Chan, the city fell into the hands of the Persians. Chizer Chaja Chan was, at the same time, defeated by Secunder Shaw, and obliged to fly to Lahore.

The king
marches to-
wards Punjab.

The king, having received intelligence of this double disaster, put his army in motion, and marched towards Punjab. Secunder Shaw, who had advanced as far as Callanore, retreated upon the
king's

king's approach, to the fort of Mancot, which had been built by Selim Shaw. Akbar besieged Secunder, in that fortrefs, for the space of six months: he then began to treat about surrendering the place, upon conditions; and Chan Azim being sent into the fort to settle the terms of capitulation, Secunder proposed to that Omrah, to give his son, as a hostage to the king, for his future obedience, if he himself should be permitted to retire to Bengal. This being granted, on the part of Akbar, Sheck Abul Rhiman, the son of Secunder Shaw, was, in the month of Ramzan, 964, brought to the king, with presents, consisting chiefly of elephants: Secunder Shaw was permitted to retire to Bengal, and Mancot was delivered up to Akbar. The king left a trusty governor in the place, and proceeded to Lahore.

A. D. 1556.
Higer. 964.
Besieges Secunder Shaw in Mancot, and takes that place by capitulation.

Byram Chan, being privately disgusted at favors which the king had conferred upon some persons, whom he suspected to be enemies to himself, for some days, refused to come to court. The king, in the mean time, happened to amuse himself with an elephant fight, and the outrageous animals chanced to run over the tents of Byram Chan. The minister immediately suspected, that this was done designedly by the king, and he sent to acquaint him: "That he was sorry to see that he had disobliged the king: but that, if he deserved Akbar's dislike, he would be glad to know the crime he had committed, that he might be the better able to make his excuse, and then, retire for ever from the presence." The king was touched with an imputation, which his soul abhorred; but he condescended to acquaint Byram, that the circumstance, from which his ungenerous suspicions arose, was a mere accident. This, however, did not satisfy Byram Chan, who still continued to suspect that the king's mind was estranged from him.

Byram Chan disgusted with the king.

A. D. 1556.

Higer. 964.

Vindictive

disposition of
Byram.

The king, soon after this transaction, marched from Lahore to Delhi. Chaja Callan, who was proud of his family, and of the signal services which he had rendered to the king, set himself up to oppose Byram Chan in his administration. That vindictive minister, to get rid of his antagonist, condemned him to death upon very slight pretences, which raised great commotions among the Omrahs. The king also expressed his dislike of this violent proceeding; for the whole had been done without his orders.

Breach be-
tween him
and the king.

Upon this occasion, high words arose between the king and his minister; and the former, in a few days, set out for Agra. Though the king did not discover what had passed between him and Byram, the cause of his journey was no secret at court. The people sided with their young king, in this quarrel, and the power of the minister began to decline visibly every day. The enraged Byram, in the mean time, endeavored to recover his authority by rigor and severity.

He punishes
the insolence
of Pier Ma-
hummud.

Much about this time, Mullu Pier Mahummud, who had been formerly a retainer of Byram Chan, was, on account of his great abilities, preferred to the high office of tutor to the king. He soon engrossed a great share of the king's favor; and the pride of advancement began to swell in his heart. He used often to make the Omrahs, who attended his levee, to wait whole hours, and, at last, to send them word that he could not see them: which insolent behaviour gave great offence to many. Byram Chan himself was little better treated, one day, by Mahummud; and he took it so much amiss, that, by virtue of his own authority, he sent the tutor prisoner to Biana, from thence he banished him to Guzerat, and there shipped him off for Mecca, to prosecute his devotion.

The

The king was highly offended at this proceeding, as it seemed to debar him from even the liberty of disposing of his own private favors. The artful minister, perceiving the Sultan's rage, projected an expedition against Gualier, to divert the king's attention to an other object. That fortress was then in the possession of Bibil, one of the slaves of Selim Shaw, who held it for Mahummud Shaw Adili. Bibil, hearing of Akbar's design against him, wrote to Ram Shaw, a descendant of Raja Man Singh, that as his ancestors had been masters of Gualier, and as he did not think himself capable to hold out the place against the king, he would put it into the possession of the Raja for a reasonable sum.

A. D. 1556.
Higer. 964.

The king being offended, Byram projects an expedition against Gualier.

Ram Shaw, glad at this offer, immediately moved towards the fort: but Kika Chan, who possessed a jaghier from the king in the neighbourhood of Gualier, raised all his vassals, and attacking Ram Shaw, defeated and drove him into the dominions of Rama. Kika, immediately after this victory, returned and invested the fortress. Bibil, seeing himself thus besieged, made overtures of capitulation. The king being informed of this circumstance, ordered Chaja Mahummud Chan, with a detachment, to give Bibil the terms he required, and to seize upon the fortress. The traitor accordingly, being gratified with some money and a promise of future favour, delivered up the important castle of Gualier.

Gualier delivered up to Akbar.

In the course of the same year, Chan Ziman, to wipe off some aspersions under which he lay, exerted himself in a particular manner in the king's service; for he subdued all the provinces near Jionpoor and Benaris, which till then were in the hands of the Patans.

Actions of Chan Ziman.

A. D. 1556.
Higer. 964.

Transactions
at court.

Sheck Mahummud Ghorî, the brother of Sheck Phul, who having been firmly attached to the Chegittai, or Mogul interest, during the late supremacy of the Patans, had fled to Guzerat, this year returned to court with his family, and was very favourably received by the king, who ordered Byram Chan to provide for him in a manner suitable to his dignity. Mahummud Ghorî trusting too much to the king's authority, neglected to pay that court to Byram Chan which that haughty minister expected: Byram therefore took every possible means to avoid to serve Mahummud, and made things so very disagreeable to him, that he left the court and retired to his old family residence at Gualier.

An expedi-
tion against
Malava.

This being represented to the king, revived his former discontent against Byram Chan. The artful minister soon observed a visible alteration in the countenance of his sovereign. He therefore formed an expedition against Malava, to turn the king's active mind from the private politics of the court. Byram accordingly called Bahadur, the brother of Chan Ziman from Debalpoor, and gave him the command of the army destined to act against Baz Bahadur, who then ruled over Malava.

Transactions
at court.

The king much about this time went out upon a hunting party, and made a progress as far as Secundra, within forty miles of Delhi, between the rivers. Mahim his foster-brother joined him there, and told him, that his mother was extremely ill at Delhi, and was very desirous to see the king. He immediately set out for Delhi, and Shabul dien Ahmed Chan Neishapuri, an Omrah of five thousand, who then commanded in the city, came out to meet Akbar with presents: that Omrah was in great perplexity how to act. He was assured, that Byram Chan would impute the king's journey to Delhi to his intrigues, and

Great power
of Byram
Chan.

and would not fail to get rid of him, as he had done of Mu-
 suai Beg; he therefore acquainted the king of his apprehen-
 sions, and begged he might be permitted to make a pilgrimage
 to Mecca. The king was very much affected upon hearing this
 request, by observing how formidable the power of his minister
 was become to all his friends; but after he had considered the
 many obligations under which he and his family lay to that able
 man, he could not think of removing him: to lessen how-
 ever, in some measure, the apprehensions of Ahmed Chan, the
 king wrote Byram that he had of his own accord proceeded to
 Delhi, and not at the instigation of any person, but merely to
 pay his respects to his mother; that therefore a letter from him
 to appease the minds of those who were apprehensive of his
 displeasure, would be extremely necessary. Byram Chan re-
 turned for answer, that "he should never entertain resentment
 against any whom the king was pleased to honor with his
 favor." He moreover sent Hadjee Mahummud Seistani and
 Tirdi Beg to Delhi, with assurances of his loyalty and absolute
 obedience to the king's royal pleasure.

A. D. 1557.
 Higer. 965.

In the mean time, Shabuldien Ahmed Chan finding the king
 disposed to protect him, and to hear accusations against Byram
 Chan, gave a loose to his tongue one day in public against that
 minister. He was joined by the whole court, whom he had
 previously attached to his interest. In short, so many crimes
 were alledged against Byram Chan, particularly his designs in
 favor of Abul Casim, the son of Mirza Cameran, that the king
 was alarmed and thought it necessary to curtail his authority.
 When therefore Hadjee Mahummud and Tirdi Beg arrived, in-
 stead of being admitted to an audience, they were immediately
 imprisoned.

A faction ac-
 cuses him to
 the king.

A breach be-
 tween him
 and the king.

This

A. D. 1557.
Higer, 965.

Transactions
at court.

This breach between the king and Byram Chan, is related with other particulars by Abul Fazil. One day at Agra, says that great man, one of the king's elephants in the rutting season, attacked an elephant of Byram Chan and killed him. Byram, for this offence, commanded that the keeper of the king's elephants should be put to death, without giving any notice to the sultan. Akbar was greatly displeased with this piece of cruelty, especially when he found that the poor man was innocent, having lost all his command over the outrageous animal. Soon after, continues Abul Fazil, as Byram Chan was taking his pleasure in a barge on the river, one of the elephants, which had been carried down to the water, run furiously against the barge, and had almost sunk it, before, by the uncommon efforts of the rider, he was brought to obedience. The minister, naturally of a suspicious and unforgiving temper, imagined that these were actually plots laid against his life; and he publicly petitioned the king to punish the rider of the elephant. The king, to appease Byram, and to remove all suspicions, ordered that the elephant-rider should be sent to him, to be punished at discretion. But Byram, either to make an example to others, or to gratify his resentment against the innocent man, who might even be said to have saved his life, ordered him also to be put to death.

The king was highly incensed by these two instances of Byram's presumption and cruelty. His displeasure became visible to the court; and there were not wanting many, who made it their business by private insinuations, to encrease his resentment. The king, at length, came to the resolution of depriving Byram of the reins of government, which required some delicacy in the present situation of affairs. Some authors mention a scheme suggested

suggested to Akbar by his nurse *, upon this occasion, to get possession of the seals which were in Byram Chan's possession. They also say, that she discovered to him that minister's design to confine him, which she had accidentally heard, in a conversation between Byram and the queen-mother. This, say they, was the circumstance that determined Akbar to leave Agra. Abul Fazil mentions nothing of this affair; for that historian informs us, with greater probability, that the whole was concerted between Adam Chan and Mahim Anigah, on the part of the young king, who now began to be tired of a tutor, and thought he was capable of acting for himself. But to return from this digression.

A. D. 1558.
Higer. 966.

When it became public that the deputies from Byram Chan had been imprisoned by the king, every body predicted the ruin of the minister, and endeavoured to shake him off as fast as possible. They flocked daily to Akbar by hundreds to Delhi. That young prince immediately issued a proclamation throughout the empire, that he had taken the administration upon himself, and that henceforth no orders, but his own, should be obeyed, Byram Chan being dismissed from the regency.

Byram Chan
is disgraced.

The king
takes the ad-
ministration
of affairs into
his own
hands.

Shaw Abul Mali, who had been confined in Lahore, having before this time found means to escape, went to Cummâl Chan the Gicker, and engaged him in an expedition against Cashmire; but they were defeated with great slaughter. Mali flying to Debalpoor, joined himself with Bahadur Chan Seistani, and stirred him up to rebel: but Bahadur Chan, repenting of his resolution, a quarrel ensued between them, and Abul Mali was driven to Sind. From that place he fled to Guzerat, and from

Shaw Abul
Mali invades
Cashmire.

He is defeat-
ed,

taken and
confined.

* This was she that the king went to visit at Delhi.

thence

A. D. 1558.
Higer, 966.

thence to Jionpoor, from whence Chan Ziman, by the order of Byram Chan, sent him prisoner to Agra. He was sent to perpetual imprisonment in the fort of Biana.

Various
schemes of
Byram Chan.

Byram Chan, finding that he had no farther hopes from the king, began to form a resolution of going to Malava, to reduce that country, and found an independant kingdom. To accomplish his purpose, he proceeded to Biana, and called Bahadur Chan and other Omrahs, who had been sent upon the expedition to Malava before him. But perceiving that he was deserted by those Omrahs, in whom he placed his chief confidence, he began to despair of succeeding in that enterprize. He, therefore, released Abul Mali from his confinement, intending by his assistance and that of Chan Ziman, to attack the Patans of Bengal, and to fix himself in that kingdom. But before he had proceeded many days on this scheme, he changed his resolution, and took the way of Nagore, with a design to make a pilgrimage to Mecca; upon which, Bahadur Chan, Kika Chan, and many other Omrahs, who had determined to follow his fortunes, took leave of him. But so irresolute was the unfortunate Byram become, at a time too when firmness, constancy, and perseverance were absolutely necessary, that, like a person infatuated, he had no sooner reached Nagore, after having lost all his friends, than he changed again his resolution of going to Mecca, and began to assemble troops, with a view to conquer Punjab.

His irresolute
behaviour.

The king's
message to
him.

When the king was informed of this new scheme of Byram's, he sent Meer Abdul Latîf Shufvini, his own preceptor, with a message to him to the following purpose. "Till now our mind has been taken up with our education, and the amusements of youth, and it was our royal pleasure, that you should be responsible for our empire. But as it is now our intention to govern our

our people, by our own judgment and pleasure, let our well-wisher contract his skirts from the business of the world, and retire to Mecca, without thirsting after vanity and ambition."

A. D. 1558.
Higer. 966.

Byram Chan, upon receiving this letter, professed passive obedience, and sent his ensigns of state, elephants, banners and drums, by the hand of Hussen Kulli Beg Zul Kudder, to the king. He then returned to Nagore, to prepare for Mecca, being now abandoned by all his friends, except Willi Beg Zul Kuddur, Ismaiel Kulli Chan, Shaw Kulli Chan Merhum, Hassen Chan Tughlich, Shech Gaddai, and Chaja Muziffer Alli Jurbutti, the rest having joined the king. Among the latter, was Abul Mali, who, coming up to Akbar when hunting, neglected to dismount, when he made his obeisance, for which he was immediately confined.

Here resolves to
go to Mecca.

Byram Chan having proceeded on his pilgrimage as far as Bickanere, repented of his resolution, and returned again to Nagore, where he began to assemble troops. The king being informed of that proceeding, marched to Jidger. Mulla Pier Mahummud, being now returned from his banishment, to which he had been condemned by Byram Chan, was thought a proper person to carry on the war against him. He was accordingly dignified with titles by the king, and sent with an army towards Nagore. The king, in the mean time, returned to Delhi, and sent orders to Monim Chan, at Cabul, to repair to court.

Repents of
his resolution,
and levies
forces.

Byram Chan, upon the approach of Pier Mahummud Chan, set out for Punjab, and was closely pursued by that Omrah. When he arrived at the fort of Tibberhind, he threw all his baggage into that place, which was commanded by one of his adherents, by name Shere Mahummud; but this traitor no sooner had got Byram's effects into the place, than he began to reckon

He returns to-
wards Punjab.

A. D. 1559.
Higer. 967.

upon them as his own, and turned out the guard which the unfortunate minister had sent to take charge of his baggage. Byram Chan set out from thence for Debalpoor, which was then governed by one of his old friends, Dirvesh Mahummud Usbeck. When he came near the place, he sent his secretary, Chaja Muziffer Ali, to wait upon him, but that ungrateful man, pretending to be affronted at Byram's request, confined the secretary, and sent him to the king. Byram Chan, who had conceived great hopes from his friendship, was astonished at a behaviour so common to men in adversity, and set out, in great perturbation of mind, towards Jallender.

Defeated.

The king had, by this time, recalled Pier Mahummud Chan, and appointed Chan Azim to reduce Punjab, and to quell the rebellion of Byram Chan. Chan Azim coming up soon after with Byram Chan, at Matchiwarrah, a battle ensued, which was maintained with great bravery on both sides; Chan Azim's line being broke by the enemy: but at length, several of Byram Chan's principal officers being killed, he was defeated, and obliged to fly to the mountains of Sewalic.

Flies to the
mountains of
Sewalic.

After this victory, the king appointed Chaja Abdul Mugid Hirrivi to the government of Delhi, by the title of Asiph Chan, and marched in person to Lahore. When Akbar had reached Ludhana, Munim Chan met him, in his way from Cabul, and being graciously received, was honoured with the title of Chan Chanan, and made prime minister of the empire.

The king pur-
sues him into
the moun-
tains.

The king's army having advanced near the mountains of Sewalic, a detachment of light horse entered the hills, where the Zemindars of that country, had convened in support of Byram Chan to guard the passes: but they were driven from post to post;

upon which, Byram Chan, in great distress, sent his slave Jemmal Chan to the presence, to represent his unfortunate situation, and to implore the king's mercy.

A. D. 1560.
Higer. 968.

Akbar immediately dispatched Mulla Abdulla Sultanpuri, with assurances of his clemency, and to bring the unhappy Byram to court. Accordingly, in the month of Ribbi ul Sani, he was received, at some distance from the camp, by a considerable number of Omrahs, whom the king had ordered to meet him. He was brought into the presence with every possible mark of favor and distinction. When he appeared within sight of the king, he hung his turban round his neck, and suddenly advancing, threw himself, in tears, at the foot of the throne. The king instantly stretched forth his hand, ordered him to rise, and placed him in his former station, at the head of the Omrahs. To dispel at once his uneasiness and grief, the king honored him with a splendid chelat; and spoke to him after the following manner. "If Byram Chan loves a military life, he shall have the government of Calpé and Chinderi, in which he may exercise his martial genius: if he chuses rather to remain at court, our favor shall not be wanting to the great benefactor of our family: but should devotion engage the soul of Byram to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca, he shall be escorted in a manner suitable to his dignity."

Byram Chan
submits.

Is received
with every
mark of dis-
tinction by
the King.

Byram Chan replied: "The royal confidence and friendship for me, must be now diminished; nay, they are past the hopes of recovery. Why then should I remain in the presence? The clemency of the king is enough for me, and his forgiveness for my late errors, a sufficient reward for my former services. Let then the unfortunate Byram turn his face from this world to another, and pursue his pilgrimage to Mecca." The king assented to his

He resolves on
a pilgrimage
to Mecca.

A. D. 1560.
Higer. 968.

request, and ordered a proper retinue for him with 50,000 rupees a year, to support his dignity. Byram soon after took leave of the king, who with a few attendants left the camp and went to Agra.

Takes the
way of Guze-
rat.

Byram Chan took the way of Guzerat, with an intention to proceed by sea to Mecca. When he arrived in the suburbs of the city of Guzerat, which was then governed by Mufi Chan Lodi, on the part of Actemad Chan sovereign of the country, he was accosted by Mubarick Chan Lohani, whose father in the battle with Himu, Byram Chan had killed. The wretch pretended to embrace the unsuspecting Byram, drew a dagger and basely stabbed him to the heart. A mob of Afgans fell immediately upon Byram's retinue, and plundered them. This murder happened on the 24th of Jimmud ul Awil, in the 968th of the Higerah.

Is basely as-
sailinated by
an Afgan
chief.

SECTION III.

The Transactions of AKBAR from the Death of BYRAM CHAN, to the total Defeat of the rebellious USBECK Omrahs.

Akbar sends
an army a-
gainst Malava.

TOWARDS the close of the year 968, Sultan Akbar appointed Adam Chan and Pier Mahummud to command an army destined for the conquest of Malava. Bas Bahadur in whose hands that country was then, spent his time in luxurious pleasures at Saringpoor, when he was informed of the expedition which the Moguls meditated against him : but the enemy had

had advanced within ten crores of his capital, before he could prevail with himself to quit the pillows of indolence; and then in the best manner the time and his own confusion would permit, he prepared for action. But the bold Chigittai upon the first onset shook his order of battle, and sent him with streaming eyes and a broken heart towards Burhanpoor.

A. D. 1560.
Higer. 968.

Which is reduced.

Adam Chan after the victory distributed the spoil and the governments of Malava among his Omrahs, reserving the treasure, royal ensigns, and the ladies of the Haram for himself. He sent nothing except a few elephants to the king of what was customary on those occasions. Akbar fearing from this behaviour, that he entertained treasonable intentions, put the royal standard in motion towards him. When the imperial ensigns appeared before Shakeran, the governor of that fort on the part of Bas Bahadur, delivered it up to the king. The Sultan from thence made a sudden excursion by night, and in the morning arrived before Saringpoor. He met Adam Chan coming out with an intention to besiege Shakeran: he permitted that Omrah to pay his respects, and then he carried him back to the city. Adam Chan suspecting the king's displeasure and the cause of his visit, laid all the treasure and spoil at his feet: he excused himself by alledging, that he reserved every thing till he should have the honour of presenting them to Akbar in person. The king saw through his designs, but preferring clemency to rigour, he drew the pen of forgiveness over his crime.

The king suspecting Adam of treasonable intentions, marches towards him.

He submits, and is pardoned.

The king soon after returned towards Agra; hunting one day on the way near Narvar, a great royal tygres with five young ones took the road before him. Akbar advanced to the animal, while his retinue stood trembling with fear and astonishment to behold the event. The king having meditated his blow, spurred

Akbar kills an enormous tygres.

on

A. D. 1561.
Higer. 969.

on his horse towards the fierce tygres, whose eyes flamed with rage, and with one stroke of his sabre, cut her across the loins and stretched her dead upon the ground. The Omrahs who were present, in excess of joy, ran to kiss his royal stirrup, and offer up their thanks to God for his preservation.

The son of
Shaw Adili
invading Jion-
poor is over-
thrown by
Chan Ziman.

The king having remained some months at Agra, Sheri Chan the son of Mahummud Shaw Adili, with 40,000 horse, advanced from Bengal to reduce the province of Jionpoor. He was opposed by Chan Ziman with 12,000 horse, and received a total defeat. Bahadur Chan the brother of Chan Ziman, distinguished himself in a very particular manner in this action; so that the two brothers were esteemed the boldest warriors of the age: but reckoning too much on their services, they neglected to send to the king the elephants which they had taken in the battle, which were always considered as royal property.

The king dis-
satisfied with
Chan Ziman.

The king, though he gave to the brothers all due praise for their valour, would by no means permit any violation of his laws or encroachment upon his prerogative: this determined him to march towards Jionpoor, but when he had arrived at Kurrah, the brothers, sensible of his resolution and their own misbehaviour, advanced to congratulate him with all the spoils which they had taken, and other suitable presents. The king, whose generosity and clemency could be only equalled by his spirit, returned all, except what belonged properly to the exchequer. At the same time he gave them a gentle reproof for their neglect, and afterwards engaged their affections by his princely bounty and gracious favour. The king returning to Agra, on the third day's march gave the brothers permission to go back to Jionpoor.

Who submits
himself to his
royal clemen-
cy.

By

By the time that the king had reached Agra, Chan Azim viceroy of Punjab, and Adam Chan governor of Malava, arrived at court according to orders, with suitable presents. The king gave the government of Malava to Pier Mahummud Chan, and the office of prime minister to Chan Azim.

A. D. 1561.
Higer. 969.
Promotions at
court.

The king after these transactions in the year 969, made a progress to Ajmere, to visit the shrine of Chaja Moin ul Dien: when Akbar arrived at Sumbre, Raja Birbil of that country gave his daughter to him in marriage, and lifted himself and his son Bowan Dafs, among the number of the king's Omrahs. When Akbar had reached Ajmere, and had performed his devotions, he sent Mirza Shirrif ul dein Hufsein, governor of Ajmere, to invest the fort of Mertah, which was in the territories of Raja Maldeo of Marwar. He himself returned in three days and nights, with a retinue of six persons only to Agra, which was a distance of more than one hundred and thirty crores.

The king
makes a pro-
gress to Aj-
mere.

Mirza Hufsein having advanced near Mertah, Jig Jal and Dewan Dafs, who were principal Omrahs of that country, threw a detachment into the place and prepared for a siege. Mirza Hufsein invested the fort, and began to carry on his approaches. In a few days he extended one of his mines under a bastion, and sprung it, by which a practicable breach was made. He advanced in person with a select body of troops to the assault, while the enemy bravely filled the breach to oppose him. Tho' fresh supplies of troops mounted from time to time, they were so warmly received, that Hufsein was obliged to sound a retreat, and the next morning he found that the breach was filled up by the Rajaputs, who had continued to work, notwithstanding the fire he had kept up the whole night. The siege being prolonged for some months, the brave garrison were unable to hold out longer,

Mirza Huf-
sein besieged
Mertah.

A. D. 1561.
Hig. r. 969.

Which is
taken.

longer, and desired to capitulate; their request was granted, and the terms were, that they should march out with all their arms and horses.

Jig Jal according to these terms left all his money and effects, and marched forth; but Dewan Dafs, who had been averse to the capitulation, collected five hundred of the garrison together, and having burnt all their effects, they rushed out of the place. Mirza Houssein having heard of this breach of the capitulation, ordered them to be attacked, and the Rajaputs on the other hand fought with such valour, that they cut their way through the Mogul army with the loss of two hundred and fifty of their number. Among the slain was Dewan Dafs, whose head his friends carried away when they saw him mortally wounded, that it might not fall into the hands of the enemy. Mirza Houssein after having possessed himself of the fort, wrote an account of his victory to the king, and was honoured with particular favours.

Transactions
in the pro-
vince of Ma-
lava.

Pier Mahummud Chan *, a man of resolution, took up his residence in Shadi-abad-mendu, and carried on the war with Bas Bahadur with such success, that he entirely possessed himself of his dominions. He took the strong fort of Bijanagur, and put all the garrison to the sword, as they obliged him to risque an assault. Bas Bahadur having taken protection under the governor of Brampoor on the borders of Chandez, he sometimes by the aid of that Omrah, made incursions into the territories of Malava, and kept the country in a state of hostility. Pier Mahummud Chan was obliged to march against Brampoor, and having taken it, ordered a cruel massacre of all

* Governor of Malava.

the inhabitants, among whom was a number of philosophers and learned men, who resided in the place.

A. D. 1561.
Higer. 969.

Before Mahummud had left this place, Bas Bahadur having prevailed upon Miran Mubarick Shaw and Tiffâl Chan, the former prince of Candez, and the latter of Berar, to join him, advanced with a great army towards the Mogul, upon which he retreated to Bijanagur, his Omrahs being all averse to engage. However he resolved to halt at Bijanagur contrary to all their opinions, and to give battle to the enemy. He did it, but not being supported by his officers, he was defeated, and being dismounted by a camel that attacked his horse in crossing the rapid river Narbudda, he was drowned. The enemy continuing the pursuit, drove the Moguls from place to place, as far as Agra, without being able to make one stand before them: so that Bas Bahadur in the year 969, recovered his whole dominions of Malava.

The Mogul governor of Malava overthrown and slain.

Malava lost to the empire.

The king immediately after this disaster, appointed Abdulla Chan Usbeck governor of Calpee, to carry on the war against Bas Bahadur. This Omrah drove him a second time out of his country among the mountains of Comilmere. Abdulla Chan possessed himself of Mindu, and fixed his residence in that city.

Malava recovered.

Seid Beg the son of Musum Beg Suffavi, absolute agent for the king of Persia, arrived much about this time at the court of Agra, in the character of an ambassador, with valuable presents, and received a present for himself of two lacks of rupees from the king.

An embassy from Persia.

Chan Azim Atkah Chan had by this time acquired great influence in his ministerial office. Adam Chan envying his great-

Designs of Adam Chan against the prime minister.

A. D. 1561.
Higer. 969.

He basely af-
fassinates him.

ness, attempted to bring about his ruin, as some courtiers had before done that of Byram Chan: but the intrigues of Adam were discovered, and his calumnies reverted upon his own head. Stung with disappointed malice, he at last determined to act the affassin himself. He accordingly one day in the audience chamber, while the minister was reading the Koran, stabbed him under pretence that he took no notice of the salutation which Adam made him at his entrance, though he well knew, that at such a time it was not customary to make or return any compliments. Adam after having committed this horrid murder, ascended one of the terraces, and stood there in hopes of the king's pardon, though he might possibly have escaped.

Adam is
killed by the
king.

The king who had been asleep in the Haram, hearing the noise that was made on this occasion, asked the cause. When they informed him of what had happened, he arose, and without changing his sleeping dress, went up to the terrace in a great rage. He was struck with horror when he saw the blood of his Vizier. Having approached the murderer with a sword in his hand, he drew it half out, but reflecting upon his own dignity, he returned it again into the scabbard, and sternly asked the affassin, Why have you killed my Vizier? The wretch, fearing that the king was going to kill him, seized his hands. This behaviour so enraged Akbar, that disengaging himself, he struck him a blow with his fist, and stretched him senseless at his feet. In this rage he ordered one of his attendants to throw the wretch over the wall, which was forty guzes* in height. Mahim Anigah, this unfortunate man's father, died with grief about a month after, and Monim Chan who was an abettor of the affassination of the Vizier, fled to Lahore, where he was seized and sent to Agra: but as the proofs against him were not

* A guze is about a yard English.

sufficient,

sufficient, he was acquitted by the king, and had afterwards the address to work himself into favour.

A. D. 1562.
Higer. 970.

The king conferred all the honours and estates of his father upon Mirza Aziz, the eldest son of the deceased Vizier, excepting the offices of the Vizarit and Vakilit *. Sultan Adam prince of the Gickers, disturbing the peace of Punjab, the Omrahs of that country were ordered to reduce him, and place Kummal Chan one of the same nation, upon the musnud. Kummal Chan had been once miraculously preserved from death. Selim Shaw ordered a prison, wherein he was at Gualier, with some hundreds of Gickers who had been taken prisoners, to be blown up with gunpowder. This was done, and Kummal was thrown to some distance, without receiving any considerable hurt. The same year Kummal Chan by the aid of the Omrahs marched against the Gickers, reduced that fierce nation, and took Sultan Adam prisoner.

The Gickers
reduced.

Chaja Moin the father of Shirrif ul Dein Husein, came about this time from Turkestan to Lahore: he was there met by his son and brought to Agra, the king himself going out to congratulate him, as he was of the race of Chaja Shakear nasir ul Dein Abdulla, one of the greatest saints in Turkestan. Not long after these transactions, Mirza Husein either struck with madness, or some unknown apprehensions, fled to Ajmere with all his forces. This revolt occasioned great disturbances in that country, to quell which Husein Kulli Chan ul Kuddir, the nephew of Byram Chan, was nominated to the government of Nagore, and ordered to proceed thither with a great force. Mirza Husein having received intelligence of his march, left

Rebellion of
Mirza Husein.

* The Vizarit and Vakilit are often joined in the same person, but the latter is reckoned the first office in the empire.

A. D. 1563.
Higer. 971.

Ajmere in charge of one of his friends, and retreated to Jalore on the frontiers of Guzerat. Husein Kulli Chan proceeded to Ajmere, and possessed himself of that place by capitulation.

Abul Mali
joins Husein.

Shaw Abul Mali, who had been released from his confinement upon promise of proceeding to Mecca, hearing of the rebellion of Mirza Husein on the way, returned and joined him. He marched by his command with a body of horse towards Narnoul, and there committed hostilities. Husein Kulli Chan detached Ahmed Beg and Eusuph Beg against him, while he marched in person against Mirza Husein. Shaw Abdul Mali lay in ambush for the troops which were sent against him. They fell into the snare and were defeated with great slaughter, the two generals being slain in the action.

Defeats the
Imperialists.

Flies to Cabul.

The king at that time taking the diversion of hunting at Muttra, received intelligence of the defeat of his troops, and sent another army against Mali. The rebel fled before the imperial forces to Punjab, and from thence to Mirza Mahummud Hakim, the king's brother at Cabul. Hakim gave to Mali his sister in marriage, and raised him to the first office in that kingdom, for which he by that time paid little or no homage to Akbar.

His villainy.

The ungrateful refugee, however, had not been many months in station, before he aspired to the kingdom of Cabul, and basely assassinated Mirza Mahummud Hakim's mother, his own mother-in-law, who was a woman of uncommon abilities, and might with truth be said to have ruled that kingdom. He then pretended to act as regent for the young prince, who was still in his minority, with a view to get rid of him as soon as he could conciliate matters with the Omrahs. In the mean time

Mirza

Mirza Soliman, prince of Buduchshân, came against him, and cut off the opening flower of his ambition, by depriving him of his life. Mirza Sherrif ul dein Houssein having heard of the retreat of Shaw Abul Mâli, fled to Ahmedabad, in Guzerat.

A. D. 1563.
Higer. 971.
and death.

The king, about this time, made a progress towards Delhi. As he was passing by the college of Mahim Annigah, a slave of the rebel Mirza Houssein, by name Kuttlick Fowlad, who had been sent to assassinate the king, fixed an arrow in his bow and pointed it towards the sky. The royal retinue, imagining that the villain was going to shoot at some bird flying overhead, gazed upward: he immediately lowered his aim to the king, who was at some distance upon his elephant, and let fly his arrow, which lodged itself some inches deep in Akbar's shoulder. In a moment a thousand swords were drawn, and the people cut one another, each anxious to kill the assassin, who was in a moment hewn to pieces. The surgeons being called, the arrow was, with great difficulty, extracted on the place, before all the people; the king not shrinking once at the operation: in about ten days the wound was closed up, Akbar returned to Agra, and soon after appointed Afaph Chan Herdi Suba of Kurrah and Maneckpoor.

An attempt
against the
king's life.

The king did not rest many days at Agra, before he set out for Narvar to hunt elephants. He had ordered Abdulla Chan Usbeck, governor of Malava, to send his trained elephants to assist in this amusement, which he neglected to do. The king was very much enraged at his disobedience, and made a sudden incursion into Malava, though the periodical rains were at their height. Mahummud Casin Chan Neishapuri, governor of Saringpoor, joined the king by the way. When Akbar had reached Ugein, Abdulla Chan, with all his forces and treasure, fled to Guzerat: the king pursued him about twenty-five crores, with

The governor
of Malava re-
volts;

he flies to
Guzerat.

A. D. 1563.
Higer. 971.

The king of
Chandez, in
the decan,
submits to
Akbar.

with a small body of cavalry : the rebel stood his ground, and fought with such success, that Akbar thought proper to return from the pursuit to Mindu, where he surveyed the buildings erected there by the princes of the race of Chillige. While Akbar remained in that city, Mira Mubarick Shaw, king of Chandez paid him homage, and gave him his daughter in marriage. The king conferred the government of Malava upon Shirra Bahadur, and returned towards his capital.

The king, upon the way, near the village of Sipiri, fell in with a great herd of wild elephants. He ordered his cavalry to surround them, and he drove them, with great difficulty, into a kedda or fold constructed for that purpose : one of the male elephants, of a prodigious size, finding himself confined, strode over the ditch, bore down the wall and the pallisadoes before him, and made his way into the plain. Three trained elephants were sent after him : he stood to fight, and before they could overcome and take him, he afforded very great diversion to the king ; who was remarkably fond of the boisterous contention of those enormous animals.

Transactions
at Agra.

In the year 972, Chaja Moazim, the brother of Chuli Begum, and husband to the king's aunt, for some impropriety of behaviour, was thrown into prison, where he died. The same year, the old fort of Agra, which was built of brick, was demolished, and the foundation of the new one of red freestone laid ; and though a great and magnificent work, was finished in four years.

The Usbeck
Omrahs rebel.

By the intrigues of Abdulla Chan, the Usbeck, there was a report propagated, that the king, on his account, had taken a dislike to all the Usbeck race, and proposed to confine all the
Omrahs

Omrahs of that nation who were in his service. This calumny gained so much credit, that Secunder Chan, Ibrahim Chan Usbeck, and others, who had governments about Jionpoor and Behar, turned their heads from obedience, and drew over Chan Ziman, Bahadur Chan, and Shubiani Chan to their party: Afaph Chan Hirrevi, who held the government of Kurrah, on account of some disputes with the collector of the king's revenues, took part in their rebellion. In a short time, their army consisted of thirty thousand horse, with which they possessed themselves of all the territories near Behar and Jionpoor.

A. D. 1554.
Higer. 972.

News of this rebellion being brought to the king, he seemed to take no notice of it. He ordered his troops to attend him on a hunting party towards Narvar, in the opposite direction to the enemy. He accordingly employed himself in taking elephants for some days; during which time, Asherif Chan, a scribe, was sent privately to Secunder Chan, to endeavor to bring him over from his faction. Lashkar Chan Bukshi, was sent with a great body of horse to seize the treasures of Afaph Chan, upon whom the king had a large demand, which was the sole cause of that Omrah's rebellion.

The policy of:
Akbar.

It seems, that when Afaph Chan was made an Omrah of five thousand, and obtained the government of Kurrah and Maneckpoor, he obtained permission of the king to subdue a country called Gurrah or Kattuck, lying between the provinces of Rintimpore, Malava, Behar and the Decan. At that time, the kingdom of Gurrah* was governed by a queen, whose name was Durgautti, famous for her beauty and accomplishments: her dominions were about one hundred and fifty crores in length,

A digression
concerning
Afaph Chan's
war with the
queen of Gur-
rah.

* Now part of Orissa and Bundel-cund.

and

A. D. 1564.
Higer. 972.

and about fifty in breadth : yet so flourishing was the country, that in this small tract, there were about seventy thousand towns and villages well inhabited ; which had the good fortune never to have fallen under the dominion of foreigners.

Afaph Chan, having heard of the riches of this country, disturbed the peaceable inhabitants, unaccustomed to the sound of war, with constant depredations ; he at length marched against them with six thousand horse, and about double that number of infantry. The queen, with fifteen hundred elephants, eight thousand horse and some foot, prepared to oppose him. Like a bold Heroine she led on her troops to action, cloathed in armour, with a helmet upon her head, mounted in a howdar, on an elephant, with her bow and quiver lying by her side, and a burnished lance in her hand. Though her troops had not been accustomed to action, the love of liberty, and the example of their queen, inspired every breast with a lion's courage. Their eagerness to engage, made them march in disorder towards the enemy, which the queen observing, commanded them to halt, and forming her line anew, gave her troops strict orders to march on slowly, as compact as possible, and to observe the signal to engage, when it should be displayed from the elephant of the royal standard.

In this manner she received the enemy, whom she quickly repulsed, and pressing upon them, laid six hundred Mahomedan horsemen dead on the field ; she pursued the rest till the evening, with great slaughter. When night came on, the queen halted with her army, and gave them orders to wash and refresh themselves, that they might be prepared for a night attack upon the enemy, before they could recover from their consternation. But her vizier, and the rest of her chiefs, less daring, and consequently

quently less prudent than this heroine, opposed this salutary measure, and seditiously insisted on returning to the field of battle to bury their friends. She, accordingly, returned unwillingly; and, after the dead were burnt, again addressed her chiefs, and solicited them, one by one, to accompany her to storm the Mahomedan camp: none of them, however, had the spirit to second her in this daring enterprize. They vainly imagined, that the enemy would of their own accord evacuate the country.

A. D. 1564.
Higer. 972.

The Omrahs of Gurrah, soon found that they were fatally frustrated in their hopes. Afaph Chan, to wipe away the disgrace which he sustained the day before, and finding what enemy he had to deal with, advanced in the morning towards the queen, with his artillery; which, in the preceding action, he had left behind him, on account of the badness of the roads. The queen, upon Afaph's approach, advanced to a narrow pass, and prepared to oppose him. The Mogul, scouring the pass with his artillery, soon opened to himself a way into the plain beyond it, where the queen's army were drawn up in order of battle. Raja Bier Shaw, the queen's son, a young prince of great hopes, as soon as the Mahomedan army came into the plain, made a resolute charge, and exhibited prodigies of valour. He repulsed the enemy twice, but in the third attack, being wounded, he became faint with loss of blood. When he was just falling from his horse, his mother, who was mounted on an elephant in the front of the battle, observed her son ready to expire. She immediately called to some of her people to carry him back to the rear; many of them accordingly crowded around him, some with a friendly intention to serve him, but more to have an opportunity to quit the field. The loss of the Raja, in short, together with the retreat of so many with his body, struck a panic into the rest, so that the unfortunate queen was left with only three hundred men in

A. D. 1564.
Higer. 972,

in the field. The heroine, however, seemed no ways affected by her desperate situation; she stood her ground with her former fortitude, till she received an arrow in her eye; she endeavoured to extricate it from the wound, but as she tugged it, part of the steel broke short, and remained behind. In the mean time, another arrow passed through her neck, which she also drew out, but nature sinking under the pain, a dimness swam before her eyes, and she began to nod from side to side of the howdar*. She, however, recovered from her fainting by degrees; and a brave officer of her household, by name Adhar, who drove her elephant, singly repulsed numbers of the enemy whithersoever he turned the outrageous animal; begged permission, as the day was now irretrievable, to carry the queen from the field. She rejected the proposal with a noble disdain: "It is true, said she, we are overcome in war, but shall we ever be vanquished in honor? Shall we, for the sake of a lingering ignominious life, lose that reputation and virtue which we have been so solicitous to acquire? No: let your gratitude now repay that service for which I lifted up your head, and which I now require at your hands. Haste, I say; let your dagger save me from the crime of putting a period to my own existence."

Adhar burst into tears, and begged, that as the elephant was swift of foot, he might be permitted to leave the field, and carry her to a place of safety. In the mean time, the queen, finding that the enemy crowded fast around her, and that she must be taken prisoner, she, suddenly leaning forward, seized the dagger of Adhar, and plunging it into her bosom, expired. The death of the queen, rendered Asaph Chan's victory compleat. Six Hindoo chiefs, upon their elephants, still stood firm: and ashamed

* A wooden tower on the back of the elephant.

of being outdone by a woman, dedicated their lives to revenge the death of the queen. A. D. 1564.
Higer. 972.

Afaph Chan, a few days after this battle, laid siege to Joragur, where all the treasures of this noble family had been for ten generations deposited. The hopes of gain rendered the Moguls desperate; they began to attack the fort with uncommon resolution, till the place was taken. The young Raja, bravely exerting what little strength he had left, lost his life in defence of his independence and kingdom. The unfortunate garrison, according to their barbarous custom, had performed the joar*. This dreadful ceremony was performed after this manner: a house was filled with wood, straw and oil; the unfortunate victims were forced in, and fire set to the horrid pile. When the bloody conquerors, who had brought this dreadful calamity upon the miserable Hindoos, entered the place, they found two women still alive, and untouched by the flames; one of them was called Camelawilli, the sister of the deceased queen, and the other the daughter of the Raja of Biragur, who had been brought to be espoused by the young Raja of Gurrah. These two ladies were reserved by Afaph Chan, for the king. The riches of Joragur, in gold, silver, jewels and precious effects were invaluable; of gold alone, there were found, in one treasury, one hundred and one chests of mhers. When Afaph Chan had glutted his avarice and ambition with the blood and treasure of this brave, though peaceable family, he took up his residence in that country. His view was to maintain his conquest against the king; and he, therefore, did not return to his government of Kurrah. That avarice, which prompted him to this public robbery, prevented him from presenting the king with his part of the plunder. Out of a thousand

* The joar, is a general massacre of the women and children.

A. D. 1564.
Higer. 972.

elephants, which he had taken, though all should fall to the share of the king, he sent him only two hundred of the worst, and sent no part of the jewels and treasure. It was therefore this just demand which the king had upon Afaph, that made that ambitious Omrah join in rebellion with the disaffected Usbecks.

The king
marches
against Afaph
Chan: falls
sick and re-
turns.

The king having found that Lashkar Chan could effect nothing against Afaph, he determined to march in person into Gurrah. Having therefore left Narvar, he continued his rout for some days towards Gurrah. Akbar being seized with a fever on account of the heat, which in that sandy soil was excessive, he returned to Agra, dispatching Shahim Chan Sellaori, Shaw Biddai Chan, Mahummud Amin, and other Omrahs, against Secunder Chan, by whom they were defeated, and the two last taken prisoners. The king apprized of this disaster, sent Menim Chan Chanan with an army some days journey in front, and in the month of Shawal 973, followed in person with all the forces that he could raise.

His generals
defeated.

The king
marches
against Luck-
now.

When the king had arrived at Kinnoge, he selected a body of horse, and made an excursion toward Lucknow, to surprize Secunder Chan, who was in that place: but Secunder Chan being informed of his approach evacuated Lucknow, and fled to Chan Ziman, with whom he crossed the Ganges. The king proceeding to Jionpoor, Afaph Chan sued for pardon, and by the mediation of Mudgenu Chan, was admitted to the presence, and again restored to favor, upon settling his accounts concerning the plunder of Gurrah.

Afaph Chan
submits.

A few days after Afaph Chan was detached with five thousand chosen horse, against the enemy. He came to the ferry of Nir-
hin,

him, and was opposed in crossing the river, but instead of making any dispositions to gain the passage, he sat down and passed the time in riot and foolish negotiations, for which he had no authority. The king being informed of Afaph's negligence, stripped him of his Jagier. Afaph with his brother Vizier Chan, relinquished his troops, and set out with great expedition to Gurrah.

A. D. 1565.
Higer. 973.
His misbehaviour,

and flight to Gurrah.

The king sent Chan Chanan to take charge of the army which Afaph had forsaken; and the rebels in the mean time under Secunder Chan and Bahadur Chan crossed the Jumna, and raised disturbances in the provinces between the rivers, while Chan Ziman opposed the Imperial army at the Ganges. The king being informed of these motions, detached Shaw Biddaw Chan and other Omrahs, under the command of Meer Moaz ul Muluck, to stop the progress of Bahadur Chan; but in the mean time Chan Ziman repenting of his disloyalty, sent a number of elephants and other presents to the king, and Monim Chan interceding for his pardon, the king was prevailed upon to receive him into favor, and draw the pen of oblivion over his crimes. He confirmed him in all his estates and honors, which he had forfeited by his rebellion.

Motions of the rebels.

Chan Ziman submits.

Meer Moaz ul Muluck having come up with Secunder Chan and Bahadur Chan, was upon the point of engaging them, when he received a letter from Bahadur Chan, acquainting him that his brother Chan Ziman, had sent his mother with presents to the king to intercede for pardon, and therefore that he would be glad to avoid extremities, till he heard the consequence of that negotiation. Meer Moaz ul Muluck, who had heard nothing of this matter, thinking it to be a political fetch to gain time or lull him to security, paid no regard to it, but drew out in

The Imperial army under Moaz ul Muluck overthrown by the rebels.

A. D. 1565.
Higer. 973.

in order of battle. Secunder Chan who commanded the van of the rebel army, made the best disposition the time would permit to receive him, but was obliged to retreat with great loss towards the body of the army, which by this time was formed by Bahadur Chan. The Imperialists, who from the flight of Secunder Chan, concluded the victory already their own, pursuing in an irregular manner, were received so warmly by Bahadur Chan, that they were repulsed in turn, and would never more shew their face to the pursuers, so that the rebels gained a compleat victory and great spoil. Meer Moaz ul Muluck fled with the scattered remains of his army to Kinnoge.

Chan Ziman,
upon the news
of this defeat,
again rebels.

Akbar in the mean time as peace was concluded with Chan Ziman, went to take a view of the fortifications of Chinari and the city of Benaris. When the news of the late defeat of the Imperialists arrived in the royal camp, Chan Ziman, though so lately pardoned, being destitute of every principle of gratitude, loyalty and honor, again deserted and took possession of Ghazipoor and the adjacent territories. The king enraged at this baseness, flew into a violent passion with Chan Chanan, by whose mediation he had pardoned Ziman. He immediately ordered Ziman's mother to be confined, and with all expedition marched towards the traitor, who upon his approach fled to the hills. Bahadur Chan taking advantage of the king's absence from Jionpoor, entered that place, and took the citadel by escalade, where he released his mother, and confined Asherif Chan the governor, with all the principle persons in the garrison.

The rebels
take Jionpoor,

which is re-
taken by the
king.

The king hearing of the taking of Jionpoor, gave over the pursuit of Chan Ziman, and returning towards that city, issued out orders to all the viceroys of the provinces to join him with all their forces. Upon Akbar's approach, Bahadur Chan evacuated

evacuated Jionpoor and fled towards Benaris. Chan Ziman now seeing such preparations against him, in all the provinces which remained firm in their allegiance, began again to despair of success, and had the confidence to address the king a second time for pardon, which by a strange perversion of policy, and an unjustifiable act of clemency, or rather weakness in the king, he obtained, as well as a confirmation of all his estates and honors. The king after passing his royal word for all these favours, ordered Ziman to come to court: but the traitor excused himself, by pretending that shame for his past offences would not permit him to appear in the presence, till time should erase his behaviour from his majesty's mind; that as soon as the king should return to Agra, both he and his brother Bahadur Chan, would accept the honor which the royal benevolence intended to confer upon them.

A. D. 1566.
Higer. 974.
Chan Ziman
pardoned a second time.

It surprizes, it even disgusts the friends of the memory of the renowned Akbar, to find that he should admit of this excuse, or trust to the oath of a man already perjured: but the sincere mind of Akbar, could not suspect in others that baseness which was a stranger to his own soul. He returned to Agra, and left this snake to collect fresh poison. When Akbar had arrived at Agra, he sent Mendi Cassim Chan with four thousand horse, to drive Asaph Chan out of his government of Gurrah, which he had usurped.

The king's
weakness.

Chan Ziman, as might have been foreseen, took this opportunity to strengthen his party. Treason still fermented in secret within his soul, and he invited Asaph Chan to join him. Asaph accepted of the proposal, and left Gurrah in possession of Cassim Chan. Ziman in the mean time forgetting his oath to wait on the king at Agra, during six months maintained himself in a princely

Chan Ziman
again revolts.

A. D. 1566.
Higer. 974.

princely independance over all the eastern provinces. Afaph Chan who had by this time joined him, finding himself neglected and treated with contempt, fled to Kurrah his original Jagier, was pursued by Bahadur Chan, defeated and taken prisoner. In the mean time his brother Vizier Chan, who escaped in the action, rallied the troops, and returning, surprized the conquerors, and rescued Afaph Chan out of their hands. The brothers then fell upon Kurrah, and possessed themselves of that country.

An embassy
from Cabul.

An ambassador about this time arrived from Mirza Mahumud Hakim the king's brother, who governed Cabul, acquainting him, that Mirza Soliman of Buduchshan, ever since he had defeated and killed Shaw Abdul Mali, continued to read the Chutba of Cabul in his own name; that he had appointed Mirza Sultan to act in that city in his behalf, which had obliged Hakim to expel him from that office; for which affront Mirza Soliman was again preparing to invade Cabul: he therefore earnestly entreated Akbar's aid to oppose him.

The king issues orders to aid his brother at Cabul.

The king fearing more from the encroachments of his northern enemies, than from the soft sons of the eastern provinces, immediately ordered the Omrahs of Punjab, and Mahummud Kulli Chan of Moulton, to assist Mirza Mahummud Hakim, as soon as ever they should be certain of the enemies attempts upon Cabul. Feredoon Chan Cabuli who was one of the king's Omrahs, was also sent from the presence with what troops he retained in pay to succour Hakim: but before the royal orders arrived either at Punjab or Moulton, and consequently long before any succours could reach Cabul, Mirza Soliman had invested that city. Mirza Mahummud Hakim evacuated it in a few days and retreated to the Nilab, where he met

met Feredoon Chan coming to his assistance. This treacherous Omrah, proposed to Hakim to seize upon Lahore, assuring him that Akbar was in no condition to oppose him, being involved in a war with the Usbeck Omrahs: that after he should be possessed of that rich and powerful province, he would find little difficulty in driving Mirza Soliman out of Cabul.

A. D. 1566.
Higer. 974.

Mirza Mahummud Hakim insensible of the baseness of this project, ungratefully began to take measures to put it in execution, and marched to Lahore in conjunction with Feredoon Chan. Hakim's design upon Lahore being noised abroad, the Omrahs of Punjab, particularly Cuttub ul dein Annigah, and Pier Mahummud Chan, threw all their forces into the city, and prepared for a vigorous defence. Mirza Mahummud Hakim sat down before the place, and used every art and persuasion to bring over those Omrahs to his interest, but without effect.

Hakim's designs upon Lahore.

Besieges that city.

The king enraged as well as alarmed at this rebellion, laid aside his intended expedition against the Usbecks, and turned his arms towards Lahore. He began his march towards that city on the 14th of Jimmad ul Awil 974, leaving Agra under the government of Monim Chan Chanan. Akbar having arrived at Sirhind, the news of his approach reached Lahore. The citizens immediately began to beat their drums, to sound their trumpets, and to make every demonstration of joy. This unusual noise waked Mirza Hakim, who was asleep in his tent: he asked the meaning of that uproar, and was told that the king was come expeditiously from Agra. Mirza Hakim believing that the king was already at his heels, mounted his horse without delay, and retreated precipitately with his cavalry towards Cabul: he

The king marches towards Lahore.

Hakim retreats with precipitation.

A. D. 1566.
Higer. 974.

came very opportunely to that city, and took it by surprize, Mirza Soliman having retired to Buduchshan during the winter.

Akbar arrives
at Lahore.

The king in the mean time advanced to Lahore, where he spent a few days in hunting: he then sent back Mudginu Chan, to possess himself of Kurrah and Manneckpoor, which Asaph Chan had seized. Much about this time the sons of Mirza Sultan governor of Simbol, rose in rebellion. This insurrection was crushed in the bud by the other Jagierdars of the adjacent territories, who defeated the young rebels and drove them towards Malava. They however possessed themselves of that country without much opposition, there being at that time no imperial forces in that province. Mirza Sultan upon account of the rebellion of his sons, was seized and imprisoned in Biana, where he soon after died.

The king
marches a-
gainst the Uf-
beck Omrahs.

The Usbeck Omrahs improved the king's absence to their own advantage, and extended their conquests on all sides. This obliged the king to return to Agra, before which city he ordered all his forces from the provinces to rendezvous. He was in a few weeks ready to take the field against the rebels, with two thousand elephants and above a hundred thousand horse. Chan Ziman at that time besieging Eusoph Chan in the fort of Sherigur, hearing of the king's approach, retreated to Kurrah, in which place Bahadur Chan had invested Mudgenu Chan. The king closely pursued Ziman, but when he had reached Raibarrili, he heard that the rebel was crossing the Ganges, with an intention to march to Malava, and join the sons of Mahummud Sultan, or to make an alliance with the king of the Decan.

The king
swims across
the Ganges
on his ele-

The king hastened his march and arrived at the ferry of Manneckpoor in the evening. No boats could be procured, and Akbar, impatient

impatient to engage the rebels, mounted his elephant, and contrary to the advice of all his Omrahs, took the river which was then very deep, and had the good fortune to pass over in safety: one hundred horse plunged into the stream and swam after the king. Akbar in the morning came before the enemies camp with his hundred horse, and Mudghenu Chan and Afaph Chan joined him immediately with all the garrison of Kurrah.

A. D. 1566.
Higer. 974.

phant, accom-
panied with
100 horse
only.

The enemy not suspecting that the king would attempt to cross the river without his army, had spent the night in festivity, and could hardly believe their senses, when they heard the royal drums beating the imperial march. They at length in the utmost confusion began to form their line, but before they were in compleat order, Akbar charged them with great violence: Baba Chan Cashkal at the head of the king's light scouts, penetrated through the camp of the rebels as far as the tents of Chan Ziman, where he was repulsed by Bahadur Chan, and driven back with precipitation among the king's ranks, which occasioned some disorder among the files of Mudghenu Chan. Bahadur Chan in the mean time turned towards the center, where the king commanded in person: Akbar observing him, came down from his elephant, and mounting a horse, pressed towards him; but by this time an arrow having killed Bahadur Chan's horse, he was obliged to retreat on foot, among his own troops. The king immediately commanded his few elephants to advance: those animals engaging furiously with those of the enemy, killed some of them upon the spot, and drove back the rest among their own ranks.

He comes be-
fore the rebel
army.

Charges
them.

Chan Ziman encouraging his men, still continued the action with great bravery, till his horse having received two wounds, he was obliged to quit him, and while he was mounting another,

The rebels to-
tally over-
thrown.

A. D. 1566.
Higer. 974.

he was trodden to death by an elephant. The rebels now fell into confusion : distracted for want of orders, they turned their face to flight. Bahadur Chan was taken prisoner, and carried before the king ; What evil had I done to you, said Akbar, thus to provoke you to draw the sword of treason against me ? He ordered that particular care should be taken of Bahadur ; but some of the Omrahs, as soon as the king's back was turned, fearing that his clemency would pardon that consummate rebel, prevented it by putting him immediately to the sword. Akbar, though it is highly probable that he would have forgiven Bahadur, made no inquiries concerning his death. The heads of the brothers were sent to Punjab and Cabul. Jan Alli Beg Usbeck, Ear Alli, Mirza Beg, Chushal Beg, and Mier Shaw Mahummud Buduchsi, were also taken prisoners and carried by the king to Jionpoor, where they were trodden to death by elephants. This decisive action happened upon the first of Zihidge, 974, and is an instance of the daring intrepidity of the renowned Akbar.

The king settles the eastern provinces and returns to Agra.

The government of Kurrah was conferred upon Chan Chanan, and soon after Secunder Chan, who was besieged in the fort of Jud, fled to Gorrickpoor. The rebellion of the Usbecks being thus quashed, and the peace of the eastern provinces restored, the king in the month of Mohirrim 975, returned in triumph to Agra.

SECTION

SECTION IV.

The History of the Reign of AKBAR, from the Year 975, to the total Reduction of the Kingdom of Guzerat in 981.

DURING the rebellion of the Usbeck Omrahs, Rana Udai Singh had taken great advantage of the king's distress. This determined Akbar, without remaining long at Agra, to march against him. The king having arrived before the fort of Suifoob, the governor evacuated the place and retreated to his master Surjun Raja of Rintimpore. Akbar left a garrison in Suifoob, and proceeded to the fort of Kakeran, on the frontiers of Malava. The sons of Sultan Mahummud Mirza, who had possessed themselves of Mindu, hearing of the emperor's progress, were greatly distressed. To compleat their misfortunes, Aligh Mirza died at that time, and his adherents fled with precipitation towards Guzerat.

A. D. 1567.
Higer. 975.

Akbar marches against Rana Sing, and reduces Malava.

The king left Malava under the charge of Shab ul dein Ahmed Shaw Neshapuri, and marched from Kakeran to expel the Rana from Chitor. The Rana left eight thousand disciplined Rajaputs, with a great store of provisions in the fort of Chitor, which is built on a mountain, and retired himself with his family to an inaccessible place. The king immediately invested Chitor, and set five thousand pioneers to work in throwing up trenches, and carrying on approaches to the place. When he had completed two batteries, and carried two mines under different bastions, he endeavoured to spring them at once: but one of them going off before the other, blew up one of the bastions and made

The king invests Chitor.

An accident in carrying on the siege.

a practicable

A. D. 1567.
Higer. 975.

a practicable breach. Two thousand men who were prepared to storm, advanced immediately, upon a supposition that both of the mines had been sprung. They divided into two bodies in order to enter at once both breaches: one of the parties advancing near the bastion, perceived that the mine had not been sprung, but before they could retreat it blew up, and killed above five hundred of the Moguls, and about double that number of the enemy who were crowded on the bastion. Among the latter were fifteen Omrahs of distinction. The explosion so terrified those who were entering the breach, that they retreated in the utmost consternation.

The king kills
the governor
of Chitor
with his own
hand.

Another mine was immediately carried on by the king, but as he was one day standing in one of the batteries, he perceived Jeimal the governor of the place very assiduous in filling up the breaches, and giving orders for the defence: the king immediately called for a fuzee, and took so good an aim that he lodged the ball in Jeimal's brains, and laid him dead on the spot.

Chitor
stormed.

The spirit of the besieged fell with their chief, and in the utmost despair, they performed the horrid ceremony of the Joar, put all their wives and children to the sword, and burned their bodies with that of their governor, on a prodigious funeral pile. The Imperial army perceived what was going on by the light of the fire: they advanced under the cover of night to the breach, which they found abandoned, so that they entered the place without opposition. It was day-light before a number sufficient to attack the enemy could enter: then the king in person led on his men, and the unfortunate garrison devoting themselves to death, had retired to their temples. Akbar perceiving that he must lose a great number of his troops in case of a close attack, ordered a distant fire to be kept up upon the desperate Rajaputs,

Rajaputs, till he had introduced three hundred elephants of war, which he immediately ordered to advance to tread them to death.

A. D. 1567.
Higer. 975.

The scene became now too shocking to be described. Brave men rendered more valiant by despair, crowded around the elephants, seized them even by the tusks, and inflicted upon them unavailing wounds. The terrible animals trode the Rajaputs like grasshoppers under their feet, or winding them in their powerful trunks, tossed them aloft into the air, or dashed them against the walls and pavements. Of the garrison, which consisted of eight thousand Rajaputs and of forty thousand inhabitants, thirty thousand were slain, and the most of the rest taken prisoners. A few escaped in the confusion, by tying their own children like captives, and driving them through the king's camp. They by this means passed undiscovered, being taken for some of the followers of the camp.

A dreadful slaughter.

The government of the strong fort of Chitor was given to Afaph Chan Hirrivi, and the king returned towards his capital. On the way a tyger happened to be roused before him: he gave orders that nobody should touch the animal, and riding forward himself, he began to wound him with arrows. The terrible animal stood growling on a rising ground near the king, and being enraged by his wounds, he ran directly towards the king, who stood to receive him with his lance. One of his attendants called Adil, fearing the consequence, rushed between Akbar and the tyger, and aimed a fortunate blow at the animal, but he himself was tossed under his paws, and would have in a moment expired, had not some others rushed to his assistance, and given the tyger a deadly wound, which both saved the king and Adil from imminent danger.

The king returning towards Agra, is in danger from a tyger.

Akbar

A. D. 1567.
Higer. 975.

Disturbances
in Guzerat
quelled.

Akbar having arrived at Agra, received advices that Ibrahim Husein and Mahummud Husein Mirza, had revolted from Chingez Chan prince of Guzerat, and were again returned to Malava, having commenced hostilities with the siege of Ugein. The king dispatched Killitch Chan Indijani and Chaja Yeas ul dien Kifvini, to expel them. Upon the approach of this army, the Huseins raised the siege, and retreating precipitately to the Nirbudda, crossed that river and fled again towards Guzerat.

Akbar invests
Rintimpore.

In the month of Regib, in the year 976, the king marched from Agra with an intention to reduce Rintimpore, where Raja Surjan, who had bought that strong fort from Hujaz Chan one of the dependants of Selim Shaw, prepared to defend himself to the last extremity. On the 22d of Ramzan 976, the king invested the place, and having properly reconnoitered it, ordered a great battery to be constructed on an adjoining hill, called Rin : he with great difficulty dragged up his heavy artillery to this eminence ; two of the pieces being capable to receive a stone ball of six or seven maunds, or one of iron of thirty maunds *. In a few days a part of the wall and a great number of the houses were laid in ruins, and at the end of the month the garrison driven to difficulties, solicited to capitulate. The conditions proposed by them were, to have the liberty of retiring unmolested, leaving all their wealth and effects to the king. These terms were accordingly accepted, and the king took possession of Rintimpore.

Which he
takes by capi-
tulation.

Returns to
Agra.

Akbar after this conquest made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Chaja Moin ul Dein at Ajmere, and from thence returned to

* The size of these guns might be reckoned incredible, did there not remain to this day in India pieces of as extraordinary a bore : particularly one at Arcot, and another at Dacca.

Agra. From that city he went to visit Shech Selim Chisti in the village of Sikri : he questioned him according to the ceremonies, and was told, it is said, that he would soon have issue that would live and prosper ; all the children which were born to him before that time, dying in their infancy. Soon after, the favourite Sultana became pregnant, and upon the 17th of Ribbi ul Awil, in the year 977, she was brought to bed of a son, who was named Sultan Selim. Upon this occasion the king published an act of grace to all prisoners, and ordered a day of thanksgiving to the Almighty : soon after he performed a vow of pilgrimage on foot, to the shrine of Chaja Moin ul Dein, with his whole army in the procession, then returning by the way of Delhi, the king near that city took the diversion of the chace.

A. D. 1569.
Higer. 977.

A son born to
the king.

Raja Ram Chund, who had possession of the strong fort of Callinger, which he had taken from the dependants of Selim Shaw, hearing about this time, that the king meditated an expedition against him ; fearing the fate of Rintimpore and Chitor, made terms for the delivery of the place, which was accordingly put into the hands of the king.

Callinger sur-
rendered to
the king.

Upon the 3d of Mohirrim 978, the king had another son born to him in the house of Shech Selim *, whom he called Mahummud Murad. He upon this account made another pilgrimage to Ajmere, and ordered the town to be fortified with a stone wall. The Sultan from thence proceeded to Nagore, where Chundersein the son of Maldeo, and Rai Callianmill Raja of Bicanere, came out to meet him with valuable presents. The latter presented the king with his beautiful daughter. Akbar from Nagore marched to the town of Adjodin, and visiting the

Who makes a
progress
through his
dominions.

* It seems the king had left some of his beautiful mistresses in the house of Shech Selim, to receive the benefit of the prayers of that holy man.

A. D. 1570.
Hijer. 978.

tomb of Shech Ferid Shukurgunge, proceeded to Debalpoor, where Mirza Aziz Koka who was Jagierdar of that place, presented him with a large Pishcush. The king from thence passed to Lahore, Husein Kulli Chan a Turkuman, governor of that city and province, came also out to meet him in the same manner with great presents.

He returns to
Agra.

On the first of Siffer 979, the Sultan left Lahore, and returned by the way of Firoza to Ajmere, and from thence proceeded to Agra. Secunder Chan Usbeck who had been lurking about the woods of Bengal, and committing ravages on the inhabitants, was about this time seized by Monim Chan, and sent to the king, who according to his usual clemency forgave him.

The king in-
vades the
kingdom of
Guzerat.

The king esteeming the village of Sikri, fortunate to him, as two sons were born to him there, by the means of the prayers of the saints with whom he left his favorite mistresses; he ordered the foundation of a city to be laid there, which after the conquest of Guzerat, he called Fattepoor *. In the year 980, the kingdom of Guzerat being torn to pieces by intestine divisions, Akbar seized upon that opportunity to declare war against it. He therefore marched to Ajmere under a pretence of a pilgrimage, and from that place detached Chan Callan before him towards Guzerat. The king followed at some distance with the main body of the army. Akbar in his way appointed Rai Singh to the government of Joelpoor, the residence of Raja Maldeo, whom on account of some misdemeanor he deposed. When the emperor arrived at Nagore, he received advices of the birth of another son, on the 2d of Jimmad ul Awil, in the house of the holy Shech Danial, whom he with great propriety called Da-

* The city of Victory.

nial, as it was to the saint's prayers no doubt he owed this piece of good fortune *.

A. D. 1572.
Higer. 980.

The king appearing with his army on the confines of Guzerat, Shere Chan Fowladi, an Omrah of distinction who defended the frontiers, abandoned his post and fled with precipitation. The king took immediate possession of Pattan, and gave the government of it to Seid Ahmed Chan. He from that place moved his standard of victory towards Ahmed-abad; but before he had marched two stages, Sultan Muziffer came to meet him, and without a blow, surrendered his kingdom into the hands of Akbar, so that the king entered Ahmed-abad, the capital of Guzerat, in as peaceable a manner, as if he had been entering Agra. To account for this it may not be improper to say something concerning the state of Guzerat at that period.

Which submits without a blow.

Sultan Mamood king of Guzerat, having sometime before this event died, his Omrahs, particularly Seid Mubarik Actemad Chan, and Amad ul Muluck, who possessed all the power of the government during the minority of the prince Sultan Ahmed, the son and successor of Sultan Mamood, finding him begin to think for himself, were unwilling to part with their power, and found means privately to make away with him: but to keep up the appearance of loyalty, they raised a child of doubtful birth to the throne, on whom they imposed the name of Sultan Muziffer, and divided the kingdom among themselves in the following manner. Ahmed-abad, Cambait, and some other provinces, were possessed by Actemad Chan; Anduka, Dolukch, and some other countries, by Juil Chan the grandson of Seid Muba-

The state of Guzerat.

* One might be tempted to think, that as Akbar left his wives in charge of the Saints of Sikri, he owed some of his sons to more than the prayers of those holy persons: it being the opinion of the Mahomedan doctors, as well as of some grave divines among ourselves, that prayer is more effectual when the means are used.

A. D. 1572.
Higer. 980.

rick; Surat, Biroge, Birod and Japanier, by Chingez Chan the son of Amad ul Muluck, while other Omrahs who had influence in the state, had the rest of the kingdom partitioned among them. The nominal king Sultan Muziffer was in the mean time cooped up by Actemad Chan in Ahmedabad; during this oligarchy, the government became very oppressive, by continual wars and civil dissensions. This made the unhappy people of Guzerat turn their eyes towards Akbar, to relieve them from their petty tyrants, who like vultures, gnawed the bowels of their country. The easy conquest of Guzerat was therefore no ways surprizing, as the nominal king tired of his situation, hoped more from the favor of a foreign prince, than from his own factious and independant Omrahs.

Akbar's trans-
actions in Gu-
zerat.

But to return from this digression. The second day after the king's entrance into Ahmedabad, he was waited upon by the principal Omrahs of Guzerat, who hastened to make their submission. But Aligh Chan and Hujaz Chan, two Abyssinian Omrahs, were ordered into confinement, as they gave some evident signs of discontent. Ibrahim Husein Mirza was still at the head of an army in Biroge, and Mahummud Husein Mirza at the head of another considerable force near Surat. The king therefore resolved to reduce them: Aichtiar ul Muluck one of the Omrahs of Guzerat, having broke his parole of honor and fled at this time, all the other Omrahs were ordered into close confinement. When the king arrived at the port of Cambait, he appointed Chan Azim Mirza Aziz governor of Ahmedabad.

Exploits of
Akbar against
Ibrahim Husein.

Ibrahim Husein Mirza, who we have already observed was in Biroge, hearing of Akbar's approach, and suspecting the fidelity of Rustum Chan Rumi, one of his principal officers, assassinated him, and discovered an inclination to march into

Punjab

Punjab to raise disturbances in that quarter. The king receiving intelligence of this design about midnight, left his camp in charge of Chaja Jehan and Calliche Chan, and with a chosen detachment marched himself that night with all expedition to cut off Ibrahim's retreat: the next day he reached the river Mhenderi, which runs by the town of Sirtal, with only forty horse, the rest having lagged behind with fatigue. The enemy being encamped on the opposite bank of the river, and in sight, the king thought it prudent to proceed no further, till the rest of his detachment should arrive. Had Ibrahim therefore known any thing of the art of war, he might have easily taken Akbar prisoner. But that unenterprising officer made no attempt of that kind, till the king was joined by a fresh detachment, which had been ordered some days before to Surat, and happened to be then encamped at a little distance.

This small party consisted only of seventy horse, at the head of which there happened to be five principal Omrahs, Seid Mahmood Chan Baherra, Raja Buguan Dafs, Raja Man Singh, Shaw Kulli Chan Myram, and Raja Surjun of Rintimpore. With these the king, without waiting for more troops, took the desperate resolution to attack the enemy, one thousand of whom commanded by Ibrahim Husein, waited to receive him, while the main body of the army pursued their march. It happened very fortunately for Akbar that the enemy instead of permitting him to come into the plain, opposed him between two hedges, where not above six horsemen could fight abreast. The king in this narrow pass put himself upon the footing of a private trooper, and performed extraordinary feats of personal valour: which however avail little to wipe away the folly of this piece of his conduct. At last the courage which Akbar's behaviour naturally raised in his followers, made them as desperate as himself,

A. D. 1572.
Higer. 980.

He attacks
1000 of the
enemy with
70 horse.

Whom he
totally over-
throws.

A. D. 1572.
Higer. 980.

himself, so that after a long engagement with the enemy sword in hand, they beat them back, and at last totally defeated them, with the loss only of one Omrah, and a few private men.

Akbar be-
sieged Surat.

Ibrahim Husein fled to his army, but such was their consternation and opinion of Akbar's prowess, that the greatest part of his forces deserted him, which was all the advantage that could be gained by such a victory. The king contenting himself with what he had done, desisted from the pursuit, and waiting till his army came up, marched and invested Surat. In the mean time the Omrahs of Guzerat collected themselves in the environs of Pattan, and held a council how to proceed. They agreed that Ibrahim Husein Mirza should prosecute his scheme of raising disturbances in Punjab, and that Mahummud Husein Mirza, Shaw Mirza, and Shere Chan Fowladi, should invest Pattan. They expected by these means to draw the king from the siege of Surat.

Ibrahim to-
tally defeated
by Rai Sing
at Nagore.

Ibrahim Husein Mirza having arrived at Nagore, Rai Sing governor of Jodpoor, who had pursued him, came up with him one day towards the evening, at a place where there was no water to be found, but what Ibrahim possessed. This made the troops of Rai Singh, who were in great distress for water, call out to attack the enemy. This favorable disposition and the necessity of the attempt, made Rai Singh, though much inferior to the enemy, join battle. Ibrahim's horse being killed, and he himself dismounted in the first charge, his army imagining that he was actually slain, gave ground. The enemy took such advantage of their confusion, that the whole efforts of Ibrahim were not capable to recover the disorder, and he was totally routed: he fled with great precipitation towards Delhi, and from thence to Simbol.

In the mean time Mahummud Hufsein Mirza and the other Omrahs carried on the siege of Pattan, which was defended by Seid Ahmid Chan Barhey. Mirza Aziz Koka coming to his relief with the army from Ahmed-abad, the Omrahs raised the siege, went out to meet him, and gave him battle. Aziz Koka had at first the disadvantage, both his wings being thrown into disorder, but his troops continuing steady in the centre, he at last gained ground, and improving the advantage, put them to flight towards the Decan.

A. D. 1572.
Higer. 980.

The Omrahs
of Guzerat de-
feated before
Pattan.

The king in the mean time made a breach in the walls of Surat, and had raised several mounts, from which he battered the city and commanded the streets. When he was preparing for a general assault, the garrison desired to capitulate. Their terms were agreed to, the city delivered up, and the king returned to Ahmed-abad; he distributed all the governments of Guzerat, among the friends of Mirza Aziz Koka, his foster-brother, and on the 2d of Ziffer, in the year 981, returned by the way of Ajmere to Agra.

Akbar takes
Surat.

SECTION V.

The History of the Reign of AKBAR, from the Year 981, to the Reduction of Cabul in 989.

IBRAHIM HUSSEIN MIRZA, arriving at Simbol, as we have already mentioned, heard that the Omrahs of Punjab under Hufsein Kulli Chan, were besieging the castle of Nagra-cot, he therefore marched into Punjab, which he expected to find

Ibrahim Hus-
sein Mirza,
flies to Pun-
jab.

A. D. 1573.
Higer. 981.

He is expelled
out of Punjab,
and totally
defeated near
Tatta.

find unguarded, and after plundering it he had resolved to join his friends in Guzerat, by the way of Sind.

Hussein Kulli Chan was therefore under the necessity of raising the siege, and marching after Ibrahim through all Punjab, without being able to come up with him, till he reached the environs of the city of Tatta upon the Sind. There Hussein Kulli attacked his camp as he was one day out hunting, at some distance from his line of march. Musafud Hussein Mirza, Ibrahim's brother, who commanded in his absence, was obliged therefore to form the line, sending in the mean time an express to his brother concerning his situation. But before Ibrahim arrived his brother was defeated and taken prisoner, having lost some thousands of his men in the engagement. Ibrahim returning from hunting met his routed army, and rallying a part of them, renewed the combat: he was however repulsed with great loss, and obliged to fly towards Moultan.

He is defeated,
taken, and put
to death in
Moultan.

In Moultan the unfortunate Ibrahim was again attacked by the Billochees, wounded, taken prisoner, and delivered up to Muchfuf Chan, governor of Moultan, who beheaded him. Muchfuf Chan in conjunction with Hussein Kulli Chan, carried his head and all his effects to Agra, to present them to the king. Akbar ordered the head to be set up above one of the gates of Agra, and his brother Musafud Hussein to be confined in the fort of Gualier, where he soon after died.

An insurrec-
tion in Guze-
rat,

In the Ribbi ul Awil of the same year, advices arrived from Mirza Aziz Koka, that Aichtiar ul Muluck Guzerati, and Mahummud Hussein Mirza, were joined with considerable armies, had possessed themselves of several countries in Guzerat, and had invested him in Ahmed-abad.

As it was now the rainy season, and to march a great army impracticable, with that expedition which the urgency of the situation of affairs required, the king selected two thousand horse, and sent them off before him; then with three hundred Omrahs and officers mounted upon camels, he proceeded at the rate of four stages every day *, and came up with the detachment of horse at Pattan, where he was joined by a thousand more. His whole force then consisted of three thousand horse, and three hundred camels. With this small army he continued his march with the same expedition to Ahmedabad, and upon his arrival within four miles of the city, ordered the Imperial drums to beat his own march, which was the first news the enemy had of his approach. This struck the soldiers with such a panic, that it was with difficulty their officers could keep them from immediate flight. They however formed at length the line, while Mahummud Husein with a few horse went to the banks of the river to reconnoitre.

A. D. 1573.
Higer. 981.

The king sets
out for Guze-
rat, with great
expedition.

Husein saw at some distance Suban Kulli, who had been sent on the same business by the king. He asked him across the river, what army that was? Suban Kulli replied, that it was the army of the king of kings. The other said, "that is impossible, for it is yet but fourteen days since one of my spies saw the king at Agra, and I perceive no elephants, which always attend the emperor." Suban Kulli then told him, "It is but nine days since the king put his foot in the stirrup, and it is well known, elephants cannot march at that rate; but all the cavalry are come up."

Arrives unex-
pectedly be-
fore the ene-
my.

Mahummud Husein returned immediately to his camp, and sent Achtiar ul Muluck with five thousand horse, to watch the gates of Ahmedabad. He himself marched with seven thousand

Comes to bat-
tle with them.

* Each stage is about twenty English miles.

A. D. 1573.
Higer. 981.

horse against the king. Akbar had by this time reached the banks of the river, and discovering the enemy, he drew up to receive them, expecting every moment to be joined by the troops in the city : but they were blocked up by the enemy. He then saw, that his whole dependance must rest on his own troops ; to render them more desperate, by cutting off all hopes of retreat, he crossed the river, and drew up before the enemy on the plain. Mahummud Husein Mirza placing himself in the centre with his Moguls, Shaw Mirza on his right with the Afghans and Rajaputs, and Shere Chan Fowladi on his left with the Abassinians and the horse of Guzerat, advanced to the charge.

And totally
defeats the
enemy.

The king having also drawn up his small army in three divisions, commanded by their several officers, he posted himself with his body guard, consisting of a hundred horse in the rear of the centre. The battle now being joined with great fury on both sides, the king with his guard wheeled round his right flank, and fell furiously on the left flank of the enemy. His troops observing their king thus exposing himself in the midst of danger, made an uncommon effort of valor and charged the enemy so warmly, that they were repulsed with great loss. Mahummud Husein Mirza who was wounded in the action, attempting to leap over a hedge with his horse, fell from his saddle, and was taken prisoner. Several persons contending about the honor of taking Husein, the king asked him who was the man who took him ? Husein replied, " Nobody : the curse of ingratitude overtook me."

The king in
imminent
danger.

When the king's forces were warm in the pursuit, he himself remained on a rising ground, with about two hundred horse. On a sudden a great body of troops appeared moving towards him. He immediately dispatched a person to know who they were : he

he brought back intelligence, that they were the forces of Achtiar ul Muluck, who had been left to guard the gates of Ahmedabad. The troops who were with the king began to be very uneasy at their situation, and gave many intimations of their desire of retreating. But Akbar would by no means desert his post: he ordered them instantly to prepare to charge and break through the enemy; at the same time commanding the drums to beat up the royal march.

A. D. 1573.
Higer. 981.

The enemy hearing the drums, made no doubt but the whole army was behind the hill, and retreated with great precipitation. The king pursued them to some distance, to keep up the panic which had seized them. Whilst these things happened where the king commanded in person, Rai Singh to revenge some former quarrel, basely embued his hands in the blood of Mahummud Husein Mirza, who had been left in his possession. Achtiar ul Muluck having also fallen from his horse in his flight, was killed by one of the king's guards, who was pursuing him with great eagerness.

He charges
5000 of the
enemy with
200 horse.

Chan Azim Aziz Koka, finding now that the blockade was withdrawn from the gates, came out to meet the king. Akbar entered Ahmedabad the same day, and continued Chan Azim in his government, then by the way of Ajmere, hastened towards Agra, after having performed a service, which, though glorious, reflects more honor upon his intrepidity, than upon his conduct.

In the course of the same year, Daood ben Soliman governor of Bengal, drew his neck from the yoke of obedience. Monim Chan Chanan was sent against him, who brought him to a treaty after some successful engagements. The king dissatisfied

The Suba of
Bengal rebels.

A. D. 1573.
Higer. 981.

He is over-
thrown.

The king sets
out for Bengal.

with this peace, committed the affairs of Bengal to Raja Jodermul, and sent him with orders to expel Daood entirely out of his government, or to oblige him to pay a certain yearly tribute, superior to the small acknowledgement which he had formerly made. Daood being threatened at the time with a civil war by one Lodi, who discovered an inclination to usurp the kingdom, consented upon Jodermul's appearance to pay the tribute demanded. He then found means to seize upon Lodi, whom he put to death. Daood relieved from that domestic danger, broke the treaty with the king, and advancing against Chan Chanan and Raja Jodermul, engaged them at the confluence of the Sool, Gang and Sirve, where being defeated, he lost his fleet of boats and all his baggage. Chan Chanan crossed immediately the river, and laid siege to Patna.

The king informed of these transactions, set out from Agra in the middle of the rains, with as many troops as could be contained in a thousand boats: he halted a few days at Benaris, where he was joined by the forces which marched overland: he immediately embarked the whole, and fell down to Patna, and on his way he received the news of the reduction of Becker by Jesu Chan, who had been sent against that place. Akbar having arrived within a few miles of Patna, heard that Ifah Chan Neazi, one of the enemies principal generals, had marched out of the fort and fought Chan Chanan, but that he was defeated and lost his life, so that the place was upon the point of being evacuated. The king therefore sent Chan Allum with three thousand horse, to possess himself of the fort of Hadgeepoor, on the opposite bank of the river, and to endeavour to harrafs the enemy in their retreat, should they be already gone, if not, to stop them. Chan Allum accordingly took that place by assault, and made Fatte Chan the governor, and the garrison prisoners: Daood intimi-
dated

dated by this, sent a herald to the king to beg terms of accommodation.

A. D. 1574.
Higer. 982.

The king returned him for answer, that he granted him his life, but that he must trust every thing else to his clemency, after making his submission; but if he should be obstinate enough to hold out some few days merely to give him trouble, he could have no reason to hope for pardon; “and though, said the king, I have a thousand in my army as good men as you, rather than fatigue my troops with a siege, I will put the whole upon the issue of a single combat between you and me, and let him take the fort who shall best deserve it.” Daood did not chuse to accept the challenge, nor even to put him to farther trouble, but took boat at the water-gate that night, and fled down the river: soon after all his army evacuated the place. The next morning the king pursued them and took four hundred elephants, and the greatest part of their baggage. He then returned to Patna, conferred the government of that place and its dependencies upon Chan Chanan, then returned without pursuing his conquest farther to Agra.

The king challenges the Suba of Bengal to a single combat.

Who declines and flies.

Chan Azim from Guzerat and Chan Jehan from Lahore, came to pay their respects to the king, and returned afterwards to their respective governments. Akbar at the same time conferred the title of Muziffer Chan upon Chaja Muziffer Alli, and appointed him to command a force against the fort of Rhotas in Behar: he himself made a tour to Ajmere, where having bestowed great charities, he returned to Agra.

Transactions at Agra.

In the mean time Chan Chanan had orders to carry the war further into Bengal against Daood. That general having forced the pass of Killagurry, Daood fled into Orissa, whither he was pursued

The war in Bengal, and the reduction of that province.

A. D. 1575.
Higer. 983.

purfued by Raja Jodermul, with part of the king's army. Junied the fon of Daood defeated Jodermul in two battles, which obliged Chan Chanan to march to his aid: both the Mogul generals having joined their forces, engaged Daood.

Kudgera, an Afghan chief of great bravery, who commanded Daood's vanguard, attacked the vanguard of Chan Chanan commanded by Chan Allum, and defeated and killed that Omrah. The Afgan purfued the run-aways through the center of their own army, which were by that time drawn up in order of battle. Chan Chanan observing the diforder hastened himfelf with a fmall body to renew the ranks, Kudgera attacked him in perfon, and wounded him in feveral places, fo that he was obliged to quit the field, and he was foon followed by his army. The valiant Kudgera being killed by an arrow, Chan Chanan rallied his troops, and being a little recovered, led them back to the charge: he found Daood's army intent upon the plunder, and foon put them to flight, taking all their elephants.

Raja Jodermul being detached to purfue the enemy, came up with Daood on the banks of the Chin, which he could not crofs. The rebel finding no means for efcaping, faced about to defend himfelf. Raja Jodermul did not chufe to provoke Daood too far, and immediately fent intelligence of what had paffed to Chan Chanan. That Omrah, notwithstanding his wounds which were very bad, hafted to that place: Daood furrendered himfelf upon terms, and was permitted to retain Oriffa, after which Chan Chanan returned. The city of Gore, which had been the capital of Bengal till the time of Shere, who on account of the badnefs of the air, had made Chawaffpoor Tanda, the metropolis, was now greatly decayed. Chan Chanan admiring the antiquity and grandeur of that place, gave orders to repair the palaces,

palaces, and made it his residence : but he soon fell a victim to the unhealthy air of Gore and died. He was succeeded in his government by Husein Kulli Chan Turkuman, to whom the king gave the title of Chan Jehan.

A. D. 1575.
Higer. 983.

Mirza Soliman prince of Buduchshan, being expelled by his own grandson Mirza Shaw, was about this time obliged to seek protection at the court of Agra. He soon after took leave of the king, to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca, after which he returned to Buduchshan, and found means to reinstate himself in his dominions. Some Omrahs at court who envied the greatness of Mirza Aziz Koka, viceroy of Guzerat, accused him to the king of treasonable intentions: they so far prevailed upon him, that he recalled him from his government and confined him. Koka's readiness to comply with the imperial order, convinced Akbar that he was no ways guilty; but that the whole proceeded from the malice of his enemies: however, Shab ul Dein Ahmed Chan Neishapuri, who was advanced to the government of Guzerat, had sufficient interest at court to retain his office after his predecessor was acquitted.

Transactions
at court.

Before Chan Jehan had taken possession of his government of Bengal and Behar, the Zemindars of those provinces had risen in favour of Daood, and invested Chawasspoor, which they took. Daood found himself soon at the head of fifty thousand horse, and in possession of the greatest part of those countries. Chan Jehan having assembled all the Imperial Omrahs in that quarter, advanced against Daood, and that chief retreated beyond the passes, which Chan Jehan forced, and killed above a thousand of the enemy, who attempted to stop his march. The enemy on account of the narrowness of the defile, had not time to escape. Chan Jehan immediately marched towards Daood's camp, and on the 15th of Shawal 983, drew up his army in order of battle

Rebellion in
Bengal.

near

A. D. 1575.
Higer. 983.

near to the enemy, who stood ready to receive him. Callapar, an Omrah famous in the army of Daood for personal strength and valor, made a resolute charge upon the left of the imperial line, and threw it into disorder; while Muziffer Chan, who commanded the right of Chan Jehan's army, had the same advantage over the enemy on the left; in this situation they fought in a circle, when Chan Jehan made a home charge upon the center of the enemy, which was sustained with great bravery. At length however the gale of victory blew on the imperial standards, and the enemy were dispersed like leaves before the autumnal wind. Daood being taken prisoner, was according to the barbarous custom of war when the king was not present, put to death by the conqueror in cold blood upon the field: his son Juneid, a youth of great bravery, died in a few days of his wounds. Chan Jehan took immediate possession of all Bengal, and sent all the elephants and other spoils to the king.

Muziffer Chan in the year 984, set out against Rhotas, and sent Mahummud Masoom to expel Hufflein Chan, an Afghan, who was hovering about with a flying party in that quarter. Masoom Chan having engaged him, defeated him and took possession of his Pergunnahs; but Callapar in the mean time with eight thousand horse, surrounded him and thought to have obliged him to surrender. Masoom Chan breaking down the wall of the town in which he was shut up, rushed out unexpectedly upon the enemy. In the action which ensued Masoom Chan's horse was killed by a stroke of the trunk of the elephant. Callapar immediately rode up and he himself was in the most imminent danger of being crushed to death, had he not wounded the elephant with an arrow in the eye, which rendered the animal so unruly, that he would obey no command: he therefore rushed back through the Afgan troops, carrying off Callapar, which

which made his army believe that he fled, and they quickly followed him. Callapar was soon overtaken and slain.

A. D. 1576.
Higer. 984.

Mafoom after this victory returned and joined Muziffer Chan, who left Shabafs Chan Cumbo to blockade the fort of Rhotas, and marched against Raja Chander Sein, from whom he took the fort of Savana. From thence he directed his march against Raja Gudgeputti, from whom he took the fort of Keregur, situated in the woods between Behar and Bengal.

The Afghans in the fort of Rhotas being destitute of provisions, were prevailed upon by promises and a favorable capitulation to give up the place: Shabafs Chan left Rhotas under the command of his brother, and went himself to court.

The king this year made a progress towards Ajmere, and sent Shabafs Chan against Comilmere, a strong fortress in the possession of the Rana; he took the place, and in the mean time the king made a tour towards the borders of the Decan: Murtaza Nizam Shaw prince of Ahmednagur, was at that time become melancholy mad and confined to his apartments: Akbar thought this a proper opportunity to seize upon that country; but he was diverted from his purpose by some domestic affairs which occurred at that time, and he returned towards Agra by the way of Ajmere, where he appointed Muziffer Chan to the high office of the Vizarit. From Ajmere the Sultan marched to Delhi, and from thence he took the rout of Cabul. When he was upon his way, a comet of an extraordinary magnitude appeared in the west. The king having reached Adjodin, visited the tomb of Sheck Ferid Shuckergunge, and quitting his resolution of going to Cabul, returned to Agra.

The king
makes a pro-
gress through
his dominions.

A. D. 1579.
Higer. 987.

Disturbances
in Bengal.

The great mosque at Fattepoor was finished in the year 986. The prince of Chandez in the same year imprisoned Muziffer Hufflein Mirza by the king's commands, and sent him to Agra. In the course of the same year Chan Jehan died in Bengal. In 987 a great fire happened in Fattepoor in the wardrobe, which consumed effects to a prodigious amount. After the death of Chan Jehan, the Afghans began to recover in that quarter strength, and to raise disturbances. To suppress their insurrections the king sent Chan Azim Mirza Aziz Koka, with a considerable army to that kingdom.

The king's
brother be-
sieges Lahore.

Mirza Mahummud Hakim the king's brother, took the opportunity of these troubles to make an attempt upon Lahore. He sent Shadiman his foster-brother with a thousand horse, by way of advanced guard before him. This officer crossing the Nilab, was attacked by Shoor Man Singh an Omrah of Punjab, and routed. When Mirza Mahummud Hakim had reached Rhotas in Punjab, Man Singh retreated to Lahore, whither he was pursued by the prince. He arrived before that city upon the 11th of Mohirrim, in the year 989, and invested it.

Akbar forces
him to raise
the siege.

The place was gallantly defended by Seid Chan, Baguandas, and Shoor Man Singh, till the king marched from Agra to their relief. Upon the approach of the royal standard, Mirza Mahummud Hakim retreated to Cabul: the king pursuing him to Sirhind. Intelligence was brought to him at that place, that Shaw Munfoor Shirazi one of his Omrahs had been carrying on a correspondence with the enemy, for which he ordered him to be impaled.

Pursues him
to Cabul.

The king having crossed the Nilab, continued his march towards Cabul, and detached his son Murad in front with the vanguard:

guard: his son Selim he left at Jellalabad. When Murad had reached Shuttergurdan, within fifteen crores of Cabul, Feredoon Chan attacked Murad in that pass, and having repulsed the prince, seized upon all his baggage. Mirza Mahummud Hakim upon the 2d of Siffer 989, drew up his army before the king in order of battle.

A. D. 1581.
Higer. 989.

The elephants which were with the prince Murad being ordered to advance, fired the small field pieces that were mounted upon them, and by mere accident three of the chiefs who stood by Mirza Mahummud Hakim were killed: that pusillanimous prince immediately left the field, and was pursued with great slaughter. The king without farther opposition entered Cabul upon the 7th of Siffer, and Mirza Mahummud Hakim fled to Ghorebund: he from thence sent an embassy to the king begging forgiveness, which was granted him.

Totally over-
throws him.

The king having resigned his conquest of Cabul to Hakim on the 14th of Siffer, returned towards Agra. He on his way ordered a fort to be built upon the Nilab, which he called Attock, which means in the Indian language Forbidden; for by the superstition of the Hindoos, it was held unlawful to cross that river. The king having arrived at Lahore upon the 19th of Ramzan, gave the government of that province to Raja Baguandass, and in a few days set out for Agra.

SECTION VI.

The History of the Reign of AKBAR, from the Year 989, to the Rebellion in Cashmire, in the 1000th of the Higerah.

A. D. 1581.
Higer. 989.

The king re-
inforces his ar-
my in Bengal.

THE troubles in Bengal still continuing, the king sent Shabass Chan Cumbo, with a considerable force to reinforce his army in those parts. In the year 991 he made a progress to Priag, where he ordered the fort of Allahabad to be built at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges.

Sultan Muziffer of Guzerat, who had been kept a prisoner at large since the reduction of his kingdom, began now to exhibit great loyalty and affection for the king. Akbar upon this account rewarded him with a large Jagier, and he became a great favourite at court.

But indulgences of this sort could not gratify the ambition of the conquered king: he made his escape to Guzerat, while Akbar was at Allahabad, and by the assistance of Shere Chan stirred up a rebellion in that kingdom. The king upon the first intelligence of this insurrection, sent Actemad Chan in quality of governor to Guzerat, and recalled Shab ul Dien, who was suspected of favouring Sultan Muziffer. After the arrival of the new governor, Shab ul Dien came out of Ahmedabad, and halted some days at Pattan to prepare for his journey, during which time a great part of his army deserted to Sultan Muziffer. This enabled that prince to march towards Ahmedabad.

Actemad

Actemad Chan the governor left an officer and part of his troops to defend the city, and with the rest marched out to Pattan, where Shab ul Dien was encamped. Sultan Muziffer in the mean time, with very little opposition, possessed himself of Ahmed-abad. The new governor then prevailed upon Shab ul Dien to accompany him, and marched back to retake the place. Sultan Muziffer who came out to battle, defeated the two governors, and drove them back to Pattan. Actemad sent an express from Pattan, to acquaint the king of his misfortune.

A. D. 1582.
Higer. 990.

Akbar being informed of the untoward situation of affairs in Guzerat, dispatched Abdul Rustum, commonly called Mirza Chan, the son of the great minister Byram Chan, together with the Omrahs of Ajmere, to restore the tranquility of that province; but before Mirza Chan had reached Guzerat, Sultan Muziffer had reduced the fort of Biruderra, which was defended by Cuttab ul Dien Mahummud, Jagierdar of Beroche, and had there taken fourteen lacks of rupees belonging to the king, and ten crores of rupees of the property of the governor, who lost his life on the occasion. This immense acquisition of treasure enabled him to recruit a great army at Ahmed-abad, whither Mirza Chan marched to attack him with eight thousand horse.

Mirza Chan having arrived at the village of Sirgunge, within three crores of the city, Sultan Muziffer on the 15th of Mohirrim 992, marched out to meet him with thirty thousand horse, and drew up in his presence. The Imperial general noways intimidated by his numbers, encouraged his men, charged the enemy vigorously sword in hand, defeated them with great slaughter, and pursued them quite through the city. Being soon after joined by the Omrahs of Malava with a considerable force, he marched after Sultan Muziffer towards Combait, and drove him

Mirza Chan
engages and
defeats Sultan
Muziffer.

A. D. 1584.
Higer. 992.

him among the mountains of Nadout. Muziffer faced about to oppose the Moguls in a narrow defile, but he was driven from his post by the artillery of Mirza Chan, and fled towards Jionagur, taking refuge with Jame, a Raja of these parts.

Mirza reduces
Guzerat.

Mirza Chan thinking it unnecessary to pursue Muziffer further, returned to Ahmed-abad, and sent Callehi Chan to besiege the fort of Baroche, which he took from Nafire Chan, the brother-in-law of Sultan Muziffer. Nafire held out the place seven months, and at last made his escape to the Decan.

Muziffer
makes several
attempts upon
Guzerat.

Sultan Muziffer soon after by the aid of Jame, and Ami Chan Suba of Jionagur, advanced to a place called Mabi within sixty crores of Ahmed-abad. Mirza Chan marching out to oppose him, he was struck with a sudden pannic, and made a precipitate retreat: but strengthened by new alliances, he made a third attempt to recover his dominions, and engaging the king's army at Siranti, he was defeated and obliged to take refuge with Rai Singh, Raja of Jallah.

Transactions
at court.

Mirza Chan five months after this last victory over Muziffer, was recalled to court; but as the fugitive Sultan began to raise his head again in his absence, the king conferred the titles of of Chan Chanan upon him, and ordered him back to Guzerat. This year Burhan Nizam ul Muluck, the son of Houssein Nizam Shaw, fled from his brother Murtiza Nizam Shaw king of the Decan, and came to the court of Agra, where he was graciously received; and not long after Shaw Fatte Allah Shirazi, the most eminent man of that age for learning, came also from the Decan, and had an honorable office near the king's person conferred upon him,

In the ensuing year Seid Murtiza Subwari, and Choclawind Chan, Omrahs of the Decan, being defeated by Sullabit Chan took refuge at Agra; and as the king had a long time entertained thoughts of conquering the Decan, he sent them to Mirza Aziz Koka, who then possessed the government of Malava. He ordered that Omrah to raise all the forces of Malava, and of the adjacent territories, and carry war into that country: and having conferred the title of Azid ul Dowla upon Shaw Fatte Alla Shirazi, sent him to assist Chan Azim in that expedition, as he was thoroughly acquainted with the different interests and policy of that country.

A. D. 1585.
Higer. 993.

The king's
designs upon
the Decan.

Koka having according to orders recruited a great army, marched to the borders of his government, and found that Raja Alli Chan of Chandez was inclinable to join the king of the Decan. He immediately dispatched Shaw Fatte Alla to endeavor to bring him over to the Mogul interest; but that Omrah returned without accomplishing any thing. Mirza Mahummud Tucki Nizire and Bezad ul Muluck, in conjunction with the Raja of Chandez, by the orders of the king of the Decan marched against Koka, who was encamped in the province of Hindia. Koka however did not think it proper to engage them in that place, but giving them the slip, he entered the Decan by another rout, and advancing to Elichpoor, plundered that place for the space of three days. The generals of the Decan, and their ally the Raja of Chandez, in the mean time returned and threw themselves into the suburbs of Elichpoor, which obliged Koka, rather than risque a battle, to evacuate the Decan.

Koka advances with an
army towards
the Decan.

But is obliged
to retreat.

While these things were transacted in the Decan, orders were sent to Chan Chanan of Guzerat to come to court. He forthwith obeyed, and Sultan Muziffer taking advantage of his absence, advanced

Disturbances
in Gozerat
quelled.

A. D. 1585.
Higer. 993.

advanced towards Darul Malleck, the deputy governor of the country, but he was again defeated.

Transactions
at court.

Mirza Sharoch, prince of Buduchshan, being expelled from his dominions by Abdulla Chan, the Usbeck, came this year to court, and ranked himself among the king's Omrahs; at the marriage of the daughter of Raja Baguandass to Sultan Selim, in the year 994, the king kept a great festival on the Norose *, and a few months after Mirza Mahummud Hakim, the king's brother, who reigned in Cabul, died. Akbar having appointed Chan Chanan a second time governor of Guzerat, and Shaw Fatte Alla, Sidder or high-priest of that country, set out for Punjab. On his way he appointed Sadei Mahummud Chan to the government of Bicker, and Man Singh the son of Baguandass, was sent to Cabul. That Omrah brought the children of Mirza Mahummud Hakim, who were very young, to Lahore, and left his own son with Chaja Shumse ul Dein Chani, invested with the chief authority in Cabul.

The king
sends an army
to reduce
Cashmire.

The king having arrived at the fortress of Attock, he detached Mirza Sharoch, Chaja Baguandass, and Shaw Kulli Chan Myram, with five thousand horse to reduce the kingdom of Cashmire. He at the same time dispatched Zein Chan Koka, with another considerable detachment against the Afghans of Jawad and Bejere. A few days after he sent Man Singh with a detachment to rout out the Afghans of Roshnai, who were idolaters of the Zendeika sect, and followers of an Hindoo, who called himself Pier Roshnai. This impostor had converted to his system of religion great numbers of the inhabitants of those countries, who after his death adhered to his son, and taking up arms, raised great disturbances in Punjab and Moulton. The king

* The day upon which the sun enters Aries.

being

being fully informed of the strength of the Afghans of Sawad and Bejoar, sent a reinforcement to Zein Chan. But that Omrah was notwithstanding defeated, and Chaja Arib Buchshi, Raja Berbul and Mulluh Seri, with many other persons of distinction, with eight thousand men, were killed in the action.

A. D. 1585.
Higer. 994.

Man Singh, who was detached against the Roshnai-Afghans, met with better success; he defeated them at Kotil Cheiber with great slaughter. The king returning from Attock to Lahore, ordered Koor Man Singh to proceed to Cabul, and take upon him the government of that kingdom, and at the same time to chastize the Afghans. The daughter of Rai Singh was also married this year to Sultan Selim.

Man Singh
defeats the
Roshnai-Af-
ghans.

The army which had been detached to Cashmire, being reduced to great distress by the snow and rain, as also by a scarcity of provisions, were under the necessity of making a peace with the Cashmirians. The conditions were a tribute of saffron to Akbar, and the regulation of the mint, the coin being struck in his name: but the king dissatisfied with this peace, sent Mahummud Casim Chan, with another army to reduce that kingdom entirely to his obedience. This that General easily accomplished, on account of civil dissensions then raging among the chiefs of that country. Mirza Soliman, the grandfather of Mirzah Sharoch, came this year from Cabul, and had an interview with the king. The ambassador of the king of Turan, who came to court while Akbar was at Attock, was much about the same time dispatched with great presents to his master.

The army in
Cashmire in
distress.

Cashmire re-
duced.

In the year 996, Jillal Afghan began to become formidable, having defeated and killed Seid Hamid Bochari, and driven Man Singh towards Bungish. The king therefore sent Abdul Mut-

Disturbances
among the
Afghans.

A. D. 1587.
Higer. 996.

talib Chan with an army against him, who gave him a signal defeat near Cheiber, and cut off great numbers of the rebels.

Chusero born
to Sultan Se-
lim.

Sultan Chusero the son of Sultan Selim was born this year of the daughter of Raja Buguandafs, and the king made a great festival upon the occasion. Mahumrud Sadoc Chan, governor of Bicker, according to the orders he received from court, invested the fort of Sewan upon the Sind, and obliged Jan Beg prince of Tatta, to acknowledge the king's authority, and to send him great presents and letters of homage. Mahummud Sadoc Chan was soon after ordered back to Bicker.

Governors of
several pro-
vinces chang-
ed.

In the month of Ribbi ul Sani, Zein Chan Koka was appointed to the government of Cabul, and Man-Singh recalled to Lahore. At the same time Chan Chanan and Shaw Fatte Ulla, were ordered from Guzerat; as also Mahummud Sadoc Chan from Bicker, for it was a maxim with Akbar, to change the governors of the provinces every three years, to prevent their acquiring too much influence in the countries under their command, and to show the people that the royal authority prevailed through all departments of the empire. Singh was immediately appointed to the government of Behar, and the viceroyship of Cashmire was conferred upon Seid Eufuph Chan Mushiddi, Mahummud Cafim Chan the former governor being called to court; Mahummud Sadoc was in the mean time sent against the Afghans of Sawad and Bajore, and Ismaiel Chan who was in that country, recalled and sent to Guzerat.

The king
goes to Cash-
mire,

In the year 997, upon the 23d of Jimmad ul Sani, the king set out on a tour to Cashmire, being captivated with the praises which he had heard of the beauty of that country, from every person who had seen it. When he reached Bimber, at the entrance

entrance of the mountains, he left his army and family behind, and with a small retinue, set out to Serinagur the capital of that kingdom. Shaw Fatte ulla Shirazi who accompanied him died there, and the king was greatly afflicted for his death, having a particular affection for that Omrah.

A. D. 1588.
Higer. 997.

The king having gratified his fancy with a sight of all the beauty of Cashmire, resolved to proceed to Cabul. On the way Hakim Abul Fatte Gilani, a man famous for learning, and one of the king's companions died, and was buried at Hassen Abdal. Akbar having arrived at Attock, detached Shabas Chan to drive away the Afghans of Eusoph Zei, who infested the roads, and then proceeded, march by march, to Cabul. To that city Hakim Humam and Meer Sidder Jehan, who had been sent on an embassy to Abdulla Chan, king of Maver ul Nere, were just returned with an ambassador on the part of that monarch. The king having remained two months at Cabul viewing the gardens of pleasure, and distributing justice and charity among the inhabitants, conferred the government upon Mahummud Casim Chan, and on the 20th of Mohirrim 998, returned towards Lahore. At Lahore he conferred the government of Guzerat upon Chan Azim, and ordered him from Malava to proceed thither, while Shab ul Dien Ahmed Chan succeeded him in his presidency.

And to Cabul.

Chan Azim having arrived at Guzerat, led an army against Jâm, a Zemindar of great power in that province, who in alliance with Dowlat Chan, the son of Ami Chan prince of Jionagur in the Decan, came out to meet him with twenty thousand horse. A sharp engagement ensued: Mahummud Ruffi Buduchfi, Mahummud Husein Shech, and Meer Sherrif ul Dien, Omrahs of distinction in the empire, were killed on the Mogul

Disturbances
in Guzerat
quelled.

A. D. 1588.
Higer. 997.

fide, and a great number of men, while the enemy lost the eldest son of Jame, and that prince's Vizier, with four thousand Rajaputs on the field of battle. Victory declared for the Moguls, and many more Rajaputs fell in their flight.

The king resides at Lahore.

Abdulla Chan the Usbeck, having about this time taken Buduchshan, and infested the borders of Cabul, Akbar resolved to take up his residence for some time in Lahore, fearing an irruption of Usbecks from the north. Mirza Jani governor of Sind, notwithstanding the king's vicinity, and his orders to him to repair to court, continued refractory, and prepared for war. Akbar dispatched Chan Chanan with many Omrahs of distinction, and a well appointed army against him.

Affairs of Malava.

In the year 999, Shab ul Dein Ahmed Chan died at Malava, and was succeeded by the king's appointment by the Shaw Zadda * Murad Pari, under the tuition of Ishmaiel Kulli Chan. When the Shaw Zadda arrived upon the confines of Gualila, he heard that Mudkar, a Zemindar of power in those parts, disturbed the peace of the country. He immediately marched against him: the enemy opposed him with resolution, but at last he obtained the victory, and drove the rebel to the woods, where he died in a few days of his wounds. The Zemindar's son Ram Chund, submitted himself, and after paying a proper Peshcuish, was confirmed in his paternal territories. The prince marched from thence, and soon after arrived at Malava.

The king sends embassies to the four states of the Decan.

The king in the mean time sent four ambassadors to the four princes of the Decan. Shech Feizi, the brother of the learned Abul Fazil, to Asere and Burhanpoor; Chaja Amin ul Dein to Ahmednagur; Meer Mahummud Amin Mashadi to Bejapoor,

* The king's eldest son.

and

and Mirza Musfood to Bagnagur; principally with a design to be informed of the state of those countries, upon which he had fixed an eye of conquest.

A. D. 1590.
Higer. 999.

Chan Azim governor of Guzerat, who had orders to seize every opportunity of enlarging his province, hearing that Dowlat Chan prince of Jionagur was dead, marched his army to reduce that country, and after a siege of seven months, made himself master of the capital and all its dependencies.

Chan Azim
invades the
Decan.

In the course of the same year Chan Chanan laid siege to the fort of Suvan, on the banks of the Sind. Jani Beg with a numerous army, and a great train of artillery in boats, advanced against him, and having arrived within seven crores of the place, he sent a hundred boats full of armed men, and forty larger ones mounted with swivels, to annoy the besiegers from the river: but Chan Chanan having armed twenty-five boats, sent them against this fleet in the night, and having killed about two hundred of the enemy, put the rest to flight. Mirza Jani Beg after this defeat, with his whole fleet, advanced to the place, and in the month of Mohirrim in the year 1000, landed on a spot of ground, which was surrounded by a muddy channel, in which part of the river ran when high. Here he maintained his post against all the attempts of Chan Chanan, and keeping his communication open by water, was well supplied, while he took such methods to prevent provisions from coming to the Moguls, that a great dearth soon ensued in their camp.

Chan Chanan
besieges the
fort of Suvan.

Chan Chanan reduced to this perilous situation, found himself obliged to leave a part of his army before the place, and to march towards Tatta with the rest. Soon after his departure, Mirza Jani attacked the detachment which was left to carry on the

The Moguls
in distress.

A. D. 1591.
Higer. 1000.

The enemy
submit.

the siege; but they defended themselves till Dowlat Chan Lodi joined them from the main army, which was by that time at the distance of eighty crores, with a considerable reinforcement. So expeditious was Lodi upon this occasion, that he marched the eighty crores in two days. Mirza Jani was then obliged to retreat to a strong post, and throw up lines for his further security. Chan Chanan in the mean time returned, and shut him up on one side, while Dowlat Chan Lodi in a manner blockaded him on the other. He was therefore reduced in turn to the extremity of eating his cavalry and beasts of burthen, for want of provisions. This distress obliged Mirza Jani to sue for peace, and having given his daughter in marriage to Mirza Erich, Chan Chanan's eldest son, he prepared to set out for court to make his submission to the king in person, as soon as the rains should be over.

SECTION VII.

The History of the Reign of AKBAR, from the Year 1000, to his Death.

Rebellion in
Cashmire.

SEID EUSOPH CHAN had about this time by the king's orders, left his brother Mirza Eadgar at Cashmire, and presented himself at court. Mirza Eadgar in the mean time married the daughter of one of the princes of Cashmire, and by the advice of the chiefs of that country, exalted the standard of rebellion, and read the Chutba in his own name. To support him in his usurpation, he raised a great army; and Cafi Alli Meer the Dewan of the country, Hussein Beg and Shech Omri Buduchshi

Buduchshi, who were collectors of the revenues on the part of the king, levied what troops they could upon this occasion, and gave the rebels battle: but Cafi Alli was slain and the rest of the Mogul Omrahs driven out of Cashmire.

A. D. 1591.
Higer, 1000.

The king receiving advices of this rebellion, nominated Shech Ferid Buchshi to carry on the war in those parts. That General forthwith marched with a considerable army towards Cashmire. Mirza Eadgar as the Mogul advanced came out to meet him, but upon the night before the expected engagement, Mirza Eadgar was treacherously attacked by Sharoch Beg and Ibrahim Kakor, two of his own chiefs, and flying naked out of his tent was murdered, and his head sent to Shech Ferid. The rebel army was dispersed, and Cashmire reduced without further trouble.

Which is
quelled.

The king soon after made a second tour to that delightful country, where he spent forty days in rural amusements. He conferred the government of Cashmire upon Seid Eusoph Chan, and turning towards Rhotas, he was met in that place in the year 1001, by Mirza Jani and Chan Chanan from Tatta. Chan Chanan was immediately ranked with the Sihazaris or Omrahs of three thousand, which was at that time a high dignity, and his government of Sind reduced to the form of a province of the empire.

The king
makes a tour
to Cashmire.

Chan Azim was this year obliged to take the field against Kinkar, a powerful Zemindar of Guzerat, who gave protection to Sultan Muziffer. He obliged the Zemindar to deliver him up; and that unfortunate prince, wearied out with adversity, put an end to his own life with a razor, as they were carrying him prisoner to Ahmedabad.

Muziffer of
Guzerat being
taken, kills
himself.

Raja

A. D. 1592.
Higer. 1001.
Oriffa re-
duced.

Raja Man Singh led in the course of this year the troops in Bengal against Cullulu the Afghan, and defeating him, reduced all the province of Oriffa, and sent one hundred and twenty elephants which he had taken to the king.

Prince Murad
appointed to
the govern-
ment of Gu-
zerat.

Chan Azim being called to court to give some account of his administration in Guzerat, did not chuse to risque the enquiry, but putting his family and wealth on board some ships, sailed for Mecca. The king having received advices of Azim's departure, ordered the prince Murad from Malava to that government, and appointed Sadoc Mahummud Chan, absolute manager of public affairs under him. Mirza Sharoch was in the mean time appointed to the government of Malava, in the Shawzadda's place, and he released Shabas Chan Cumbo, who had lain six years in prison, and appointed him his minister.

Sometime before this period, the sect of Roshnai-Afghans had again begun to raise disturbances about Cheiber, but they were defeated by Mirza Jaffer Kifvini, who had been lately honored with the title of Afaph Chan, and their chief Jellali, and his brothers, taken and sent prisoners to court,

The king
makes war
upon the prin-
ces of the De-
can.

The ambassadors which the king had dispatched to the Decan, having about this time returned, brought advices that their proposals were rejected with contempt by the princes of that country. The king therefore resolved to reduce them to obedience, and for that purpose ordered prince Danial, in the year 1002, with a great army towards the Decan: but before Danial had reached Sultanpoor, the king changed his mind and recalled him, giving the command of the same army to Chan Chanan, with orders to proceed.

Mirza

Mirza Rustum prince of Candahar, being driven this year to difficulties by his own brothers and the Usbecks, came to court and presented the king with the fort of Candahar, for which he had the government of Moultan conferred upon him, and was ranked among the Omrahs of the empire.

A. D. 1593.
Higer. 1002.

Chan Chanan in the mean time having arrived at Mindu, Burhan Shaw sent Anaet Chan with professions of entire submission, but falling sick at the same time, he died in the year 1003. His son Ibrahim succeeding him in the kingdom of Berar, was killed soon after in battle against Adil Shaw. Miah Munju Jan Beg his Vizier, set up Ahmed, a young child of the family of Nizam ul Muluck, upon the throne: but the Omrahs dissented from this measure, rebelled against him, and besieged Miah Munju in Ahmednagar. The vizier finding himself driven to distress, sent a person to Ahmedabad with an ambassy to the prince Murad, inviting him to come to his assistance, and he would put him in possession of the fort. Murad having at that time received orders from his father to march into the Decan, with the army from Guzerat, gladly embraced this proposal, and set out with great expedition. When Chan Chanan, who had been lying all this time idle at Mundu, heard of the prince's march, he began to bestir himself, and with his own army and those of Mirza Sharoch governor of Malava, Shabas Chan Cumbo, Raja Jaggernot, Raja Durga, Raja Ram Chund, and others, marched towards the Decan, and on his way induced Raja Alli Chan prince of Chandez, to join him with six thousand horse. He soon after joined his force with that of prince Murad at Callenach on the borders of the Decan, and this numerous army, march by march, continued its rout to Amednagar.

The Mogul
army enters
that country.

Prince Murad
invited to Ah-
mednagar.

A. D. 1594.
Higer. 1003.

Ahmednagar
besieged by
the Moguls.

Miah Munju had by this time quelled the rebellion, and repented of his having called the prince: he therefore laid in a store of provisions in the place, and committed it to the government of Chand Bibi, the daughter of Husein Nizam ul Muluck, with a strong garrison, and retreated himself with the remainder of his army and a large train of artillery, towards the borders of Adil Shaw's dominions. Prince Murad and Chan Chanan laid siege to Ahmednagar in the month of Ribbi ul Sani 1004: they employed themselves in carrying on approaches, raising mounts, erecting batteries, and sinking mines; while Chand Bibi defended the place with a manly resolution, and wrote to Adil Shaw for assistance. At the end of three months, the besieged had carried five mines under the wall and bastions: the besiegers destroyed two of the mines by counter-mines, and continued to search for the others.

Bravery of
the garrison.

The prince upon the first of Regib, having prepared for the assault, set fire to the trains, upon which the three charged mines taking effect, blew up fifty yards of the wall: but when the Moguls waited in expectation of blowing up two mines, the besieged recovered from their surprize, and defended the breach with great bravery. The valiant female leader appeared veil'd, at their head, and gave orders with such prudence and spirit, that the assailants were beat off in their repeated attempts: the heroine stood all night by the workmen, and the breach was filled up before day, with wood, stones, earth, and dead bodies.

The Moguls
come to a
treaty with
the besieged.

In the mean time it was rumoured abroad, that Joheil Chan, the chief eunuch of Adil Shaw was upon his march in conjunction with the forces of Nizam ul Muluck, with an army of seventy thousand horse, to raise the siege: there being at the
same

same time a scarcity of provisions in the Mogul camp, the prince and Chan Chanan thought it adviseable to enter into treaty with the besieged. It was stipulated by Chand Bibi, that the prince should keep possession of Berar, and that Ahmednagur and its dependencies, should remain with her in the name of Bahader, the grandson of Burhan Shaw.

A. D. 1595-
Higer. 1004-

These terms being ratified, the prince and Chan Chanan marched towards Berar, and repairing the town of Shapoor, near Battapoor, took up their cantonments in that place. The prince espoused here with great magnificence the daughter of Bahader, the son of Raja Alli Chan, and divided the province of Berar among his Omrahs. Shabas Chan Cumbo being about this time disgusted with some indignities offered him by the prince, left Murad with all his forces, and marched without leave to Malava.

The siege is
raised.

Chand Bibi having resigned her command of Ahmednagur to Bahader, the grandson of Burhan Shaw, Abeck Chan an Abyfinian, and other chiefs, took up the reins of government, which he was too weak to hold with steadiness, and contrary to the advice of Chand Bibi, marched with fifty thousand horse towards Berar, to expel the prince. Chan Chanan leaving the prince and Mahummud Jadoe Chan in Shapoor, marched with twenty thousand horse to oppose the enemy on the banks of a river in that country, called the Gang. Having stopt for some days to inform himself of the situation and strength of the enemy, he forded the river and drew up on the opposite bank, on the 17th of Jimmad ul Sani 1005. Joheil Chan who commanded the succours sent by Adil Shaw, taking the chief command, drew up before the Moguls, the troops of Nizam ul Muluck on the right, those of Cuttub ul Muluck on the left, and his own in the cen-

The troops of
Ahmednagur
invade Berar.

A. D. 1596.
Higer. 1005.

ter. He then advanced, carrying in his face the insolence of his own prowess, mixed with a contempt for the enemy.

A drawn
battle.

Chan Chanan posted himself in the center to receive him: Raja Alli Chan and Raja Ram Chund being at the head of a body of Herawils in his front, to begin the attack. The charge was made with such intrepidity on the side of the Moguls, that they broke through the Herawils of the enemy, and fell upon Joheil Chan. They were however repulsed by a heavy discharge of artillery, small arms and rockets, which did great execution particularly among the Rajaputs and the troops of Chandez, who advanced under Raja Alli Chan and Raja Ram Chund. Both those chiefs were killed, with above three thousand of their horse. The center being broke, the Usbecks and Moguls on the left wing gave way also, and Joheil Chan remained master of the field on that side: but Chan Chanan, who had shifted his post to the right during the action, had made an impression there, and was pursuing the enemy, without knowing what had happened on the left. Night in the mean time coming on, and Joheil Chan equally ignorant of what had happened on his left, thought he had gained a complete victory: he however contented himself, as it was now dark, with keeping possession of the field, and permitted his troops to plunder the baggage. To secure their plunder, half of his army deserted to lodge their spoils in places of security. Joheil Chan with the remainder sat in the dark, without knowing whither to proceed.

Chan Chanan in the mean time returning from the pursuit, fell in with Joheil Chan's artillery, within a small distance of that General, and thinking the enemy entirely routed, determined to remain there till morning with the few that continued with him, for by far the greater part of his army
thinking

thinking themselves defeated, had fled full speed to Shapoor. While things were in this perplexing situation, Joheil Chan's troops began to light up fires and flambeaus where they stood, having heard that Chan Chanan was near. The Mogul General being informed also by his spies, that the enemy was in his neighbourhood, he ordered some pieces of artillery to be loaded and fired among them, which threw them into great confusion. Joheil Chan immediately ordered all the fires to be extinguished, and shifting his ground, sent scouts all round to collect such of his troops as were dispersed over the plain and in the adjacent villages.

A. D. 1596.
Higer. 1005.

In the mean time Chan Chanan blew his trumpets and beat to arms, according to his manner, which being heard by such of his troops as were dispersed over the field, they hastened towards him in small detachments. Several of the Moguls meeting with others of the enemy in the dark, they fought and formed such a scene of horror and confusion, as is not easy to be described; while Allah! Allah! resounded from all sides, and every eye was fixed upon the east in expectation of the dawn. When the day exalted his beams, Joheil Chan was seen marching towards the Moguls with twelve thousand horse. Though the army of Chan Chanan did not exceed four thousand, he determined once more to dispute the field, and formed his line to oppose the enemy. The battle now joined with redoubled fury on both sides, but Joheil Chan after exhibiting the most daring acts of valor, sunk at last under fatigue and wounds, and fell from his horse. A body of his dependants bore him instantly off: his army according to custom followed him, and left Chan Chanan master of a bloody field. Chan Chanan in no condition to pursue the run-a-ways, returned to Shapoor, to join the prince and the rest of his army.

A. D. 1596.
Higer. 1005.

The king re-
turns from
Lahore.

Chan Chanan
recalled to
court.

Akbar having about this time received advice of the death of Abdulla Chan the Usbeck, who had long threatened an invasion from the north, returned in security from Lahore to Agra. Having in that city heard of Chan Chanan's victory, he sent him a chelat and a fine horse, as marks of his particular favor. As private animosities had long subsisted between the prince and Chan Chanan, which being much inflamed by the intrigues of Mahummud Chan, now rose to a dangerous height; the king therefore thought it imprudent to leave them longer together: he dispatched Shech Eusoph Chan Mushaddi and Shech Abul Fazil * to the prince, and in the year 1006, recalled Chan Chanan to the presence. But though the whole misunderstanding had plainly sprung from the prince's froward and jealous disposition, the king's resentment fell upon that great man, and he remained a long time in disgrace.

Transactions
in Berar.

Prince Murad
dies.

Seid Eusoph Chan, and Seid Abul Fazil, in a short time reduced the forts of Narnalla, Kavile, Kerlah, and others, in the province of Berar; but the prince Murad falling sick, died in the month of Shawal 1007, and was first buried in Shapoor, but by the king's orders the body was afterwards removed to Agra, and laid by the side of his grandfather Humaioon. The king's grief for the death of his son, instead of extinguishing his desire of conquering the Decan, only enflamed it the more, to divert his mind from sorrow. In the mean time the Omrahs of Nizam ul Muluck having gained some slight advantages, defeated Shere Chaja one of the king's Omrahs, who possessed the country of Bere, and besieged him in his fort. Seid Eusoph Chan and Abul Fazil were so much inferior to the enemy in number, that they durst not venture upon an engagement.

* The celebrated historian.

The king alarmed at this disaster, restored Chan Chanan to favor, and required his daughter Jana Begum for his son Danial in marriage. He then dispatched him with that prince, and a well appointed army, to carry on the war in the Decan, and moved the Imperial standard that way in the 1008 of the Higera, leaving his dominions under the charge of the Shaw Zadda, Sultan Selim. In the mean time the prince Danial and Chan Chanan, entered the Decan, and as Bahader, the son of Raja Alli Chan, was not found like his father, firm to his allegiance, and had shut himself up in Afere, they halted upon the banks of the Gang, near Pattan, and endeavored to persuade him over to their interest. In the mean time the king had reached Mindu, and dispatched orders to them to proceed to Ahmednagur, and invest that fort: for that he himself would take up Afere in his way.

A. D. 1598.
Higer. 1007.

Chan Chanan
sent against
the Decan,
and is fol-
lowed by the
king.

The prince and Chan Chanan accordingly marched with about thirty thousand horse towards Ahmednagur. Abhing Chan Buchfi and other Omrahs of the Decan, fled from that city, and left the Moguls to invest the place. The king first endeavored to bring over Bahader by fair means, but he would not listen to terms. Akbar therefore marched to Burhanpoor, and sent his Omrahs to besiege Afere, which lay only three crores from that place. After the siege had continued a considerable time, the air in the place on account of the number of troops which were cooped up in it, became very unhealthy. This occasioned a pestilence which swepted the Hindoos off in great numbers. Bahader, though he had still troops sufficient for the defence of the place, as well as a large magazine of warlike stores, and provisions in abundance, permitted despair to stain the current of his mind.

Chan Chanan
and prince
Danial invest
Ahmednagur.

The

A. D. 1600.
Higer. 1009.
Ahmednagar
taken.

The siege of Ahmednagar was in the mean time carried on with great vigor, by Chan Chanan and the prince. The city was at length carried by a stratagem, executed by Chaja Abul Husein Turbutti. This we shall have occasion to relate minutely in the history of the Decan. Ahmednagar was taken in the beginning of the year 1009: the strong fortrefs of Asere, some months after, was surrendered to the king: an immense treasure which had been accumulating there, for many ages, fell into Akbar's hands, with all the wealth of Ahmednagar.

Part of the
Decan sub-
mits.

Ibrahim Adil Shaw king of Bijapoor, one of the four principalities of the Decan, having solicited peace and paid homage, reconciled the king, who demanded Adil's daughter in marriage for his son Danial. Jummal Husein Anjou was accordingly dispatched to bring the bride and Peshcuish from Bijanagar. The king reduced Asere, Birhanpoor, Ahmednagar, and Berar, into the form of a province, and conferred the government upon Danial, under the tuition and direction of Chan Chanan. The king after these transactions returned in triumph to the city of Agra, and in the year 1011, annexed his acquisitions in the Decan, to his other royal titles in a proclamation.

Death of the
historian Abul
Fazil.

Akbar having in the course of the year 1011, recalled Sheck Abul Fazil from the Decan, that great man was unfortunately attacked near Narwar, by a body of banditti of Orcha Rajaputs, who cut him off with a part of his retinue, merely to rob him of his wealth, and not at the instigation of prince Danial, as has been maliciously and falsely reported by some writers.

In the 1013 of the Higer, Jummal Husein Anjou who had been dispatched to Bijapoor, returned with the royal bride,
and

and the stipulated tribute. He delivered the young Sultana to Danial, upon the banks of the Gang near Pattan, where the nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and magnificence. Husein Anjou the embassador, after the ceremony was over, proceeded to the king at Agra.

A. D. 1604.
Higer. 1013.

Upon the first of Zehidge of the year 1013, the prince Danial died of a debauch in the city of Burhanpoor. His death and the manner of it so much affected the king, who was in a declining state of health, that he every day became worse, till upon the 13th of Jemmad ul Sani in the year 1014, he left that world through which he moved with so much lustre, after having reigned fifty-one years, and some months.

Prince Danial
dies.

Akbar dies.

Mahummud Akbar was a prince endued with many shining virtues. His generosity was great, and his clemency without bounds: this latter virtue he often carried beyond the bounds of prudence, and in many instances past the limits of that justice which he owed to the state; but his daring spirit made this noble error seem to proceed from a generous disposition, and not from an effeminate weakness of mind.

His character.

His character as a warrior was rather that of an intrepid partizan, than of a great general: he exposed his person with unpardonable rashness, and often attempted capital points without using that power which at the time he possessed.—But fortune and a daring soul supplied the place of conduct in Akbar: he brought about at once by desperate means, what calm caution would take much time to accomplish. This circumstance spread the terror of the name of this son of true glory so wide, that Hindostan, ever subject to the convulsions of rebellion, became settled and calm in his presence. He raised a wall

of disciplined valor * against the powers of the north, and by his own activity inspired his Omrahs with enterprize.

He loved glory to excess, and thirsted after a reputation for personal valor : he encouraged learning with the bounty of kings, and delighted in history, which is in truth the school of sovereigns. As his warm and active disposition prompted him to perform actions worthy of the divine pen of the poet, so he was particularly fond of heroic compositions in verse.—In short, the faults of Akbar were virtues carried to extremes ; and if he sometimes did things beneath the dignity of a great king, he never did any thing unworthy of a good man.

* Soldiers.

HISTORY OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE, FROM

Its decline, in the Reign of MAHUMMUD
SHAW, to the Present Times.

SECTION I.

General Observations.---The Succession, from AKBAR to
MAHUMMUD SHAW. The growing Imbecillity of the
Empire.---Governors of the Provinces assume Inde-
pendence. Their Intrigues at the Court of Delhi.---
The Invasion of NADIR SHAW.

MAHUMMUD CASIM FERISHTA, the author of
the preceding history, finishes his account of the
kings of Delhi with the death of Akbar. The trans-
lator is still in hopes of being able to procure original and au-
thentic histories of the empire of Hindostan, from that period
down to the present times. He, therefore, will not break in

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*A

upon

upon his design of giving, some time or other, to the public, a complete history of the reigns of the posterity of Timur in India, by retailing the very imperfect accounts already published in Europe.

But as, to translate from the Persian language is a task of labor and difficulty, his engaging further, in works of this kind, will depend entirely upon the reception the public shall give to his first attempt in that way. If he shall find that he is not capable to acquit himself, in some degree, to the satisfaction of the world, he will, in prudence, lay down his pen; and leave that field to men of greater abilities, who may hereafter turn their thoughts to the subject.

The transactions of the court of Delhi, since the invasion of Nadir Shaw, are very little known in the West. They have not, even in Asia, been hitherto committed to writing; and if the present confusions of the Mogul empire shall long continue, it is probable the memory of them will die with those who were principally concerned in them. This consideration has induced the translator of Ferishta's history, to throw together the most material events, which happened in the empire, since the memorable irruption of the Persians, in the year 1738. He derives his authority, for some of the facts, from a Persian manuscript, now in his hands, concerning six years of the reign of Mahummud Shaw; and as to the rest, he principally follows a short sketch of the affairs of the empire, given to him in writing, by his intimate friend the Rai Raiân, secretary of state to the present mogul.

To continue the line of connection, between the preceding history and the reign of Mahummud Shaw, who sat upon the throne of Delhi when the invasion of Nadir Shaw happened, it may not be improper, just to mention the succession of the kings, from

from Akbar to that period. It is necessary to observe, that, after consulting the most authentic Persian histories, the author of this account finds himself obliged to differ from all the European writers, who have treated on the subject, with regard to the duration of most of the reigns.

Upon the death of Akbar, his son Selim ascended the throne, in Agra, upon Thursday the 20th of Jemmad ul Sani, in the 1014 year of the Higera. He, upon his accession, assumed the title of JEHANGIRE, and reigned twenty-two years, nine months, and twenty days, with much more reputation and success than could have been expected of so weak a prince. His death happened upon Sunday the 28th of Siffer, in the 1037 year of the Higera.

A. D.
1605

SULTAN KURRUM, the third son of Jehangire, mounted the throne at Agra, upon the 8th of Jemmad ul Sani, in the year 1037, and, under the title of SHAW JEHAN, reigned thirty-two years, three months, and twenty days. He was deposed by his third son, the famous Aurungzebe, who dated the commencement of his reign, from the first of Ramzan, in the 1069 of the Higera. Aurungzebe, upon his accession, took the name of Allumgire*.

1627

ALLUMGIRE, having reigned fifty years, two months, and twenty-eight days, died, in a very advanced age, at Ahmednagur, in the Decan, upon Friday the 28th of Zicada, in the 1119 of the Higera.

1648

* Though Shaw Jehan was confined during the time his four rebellious sons, Dara Shekoh, Sultan Suja, Aurungzebe, and Morad Buksh, contended for the crown, yet as Aurungzebe prevailed over his brothers, and dated his reign from the year 1069, we have included the time of the civil wars in the reign of his father.

1707 Mahummud Mauzim, Aurungzebe's second son, succeeded his father in the throne, under the title of BAHADAR SHAW. He died, after a short reign of four years and eleven months, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Moaz ul Dien.

1712 Moaz ul Dien, under the title of JEHANDAR SHAW, reigned eighteen months. Some writers do not include him in the succession of kings, as the succeeding emperor, the son of Azim ul Shaw, the second son of Bahadar Shaw, under the name of Firrochere, dated his reign from the death of his grandfather.

1713 FIRROCHERE, according to his own computation, reigned six years. He was blinded, and afterwards put to death, by the two SEIDS, upon the 12th of Jammad ul Sani, in the 1130 of the Higera.

1717 RAFFEIH UL DIRJAT, the son of Raffeih ul Shaw, the third son of Bahadar Shaw, was raised to the throne, by the ambitious Seids; and after a nominal reign of three months, was put to death by the same faction, by whose interest he had obtained the crown.---His brother RAFFEIH UL DOWLAT succeeded him; but he died in a few days.

1718 MAHUMMUD SHAW, the son of Jehan Shaw, and grandson of Bahadar Shaw, acceded to the throne of Delhi, in the month of Shawal of the year 1130 of the Higera.---Mahummud Shaw, having rid himself of the two Seids, Abdalla Chan, and Hassen Chan, who had so long tyrannized in the empire, raising and deposing kings at pleasure, gave himself wholly up to indolence, and the enervating pleasures of the Haram. The distractions, before Mahummud's accession, occasioned principally by the ambition of the Seids, gave the first mortal wound to the Mogul empire, under which it has ever since languished. Most of the Omrahs,
either

either envying or dreading the power of the Seids, formed ambitious schemes of independence in their respective provinces, which the aparent debility of the regal authority very much favored.

Cuttulich Chan, who, as Nizam ul muluck, commanded all the provinces of the Decan, being sensible of the weakness of Mahummud, maintained a great standing army, under a pretence of keeping the unsubdued Hindoo Rajas and Mahrattor * chiefs in awe. But the real design of this force was to found an independent kingdom for the Nizam in the Decan, as Hassen Caco Bemeni had done in the reign of Tuglick Shaw †.

To facilitate his ambitious views, the Nizam ul muluck began to extend his power in the Decan, by the reduction of the neighbouring Rajas. Though the revenues of his government must have been very considerably increased by these conquests, he remitted none to the Delhi; and, at the same time, to weaken the empire, he encouraged, or at least, permitted the Mahrattors to make hostile incursions into the interior provinces. These irregular marauders ravaged the kingdoms of Malava, Narvar, Biana and Ajmere, in such a manner, that no revenues could be paid by the unfortunate inhabitants.

The weak Mahummud, instead of checking this insolence by the sword, disgraced the dignity of the house of Timur, by submitting to become, in a manner, tributary to these despicable banditti. He agreed to pay them the Chout, or fourth part of the revenues of those provinces, which had been subject to their

* These are they, who are known in Europe, under the disfigured name of Marattoes.

† This Hassen Caco mounted the throne at Kilbirga in the Decan, which city he called from himself, Hassen-abad, upon the 24th of Ribbi ul Achir, in the 748 of the Higera. He assumed the title of sultan Alla ul Dien.

depredations. From this pusillanimous conduct of Mahummud, we may date the irretrievable decline of the Mogul empire. That opinion, which supports government in every country, was now destroyed in India; and each petty chieftain began to start into a prince, as he had nothing to fear from a government which had betrayed such evident symptoms of timidity.

Chan Dowran Sumfam ul Dowla was, at this time, Amir ul Omrah, or captain-general of the empire. As the offices of paymaster-general and commander in chief of the troops are injudiciously joined in one person, in Hindostan, Chan Dowran had such an influence in the state, that he engrossed to himself all the ministerial power. He left, in short, nothing but their names in the government to the king and his vizier, Kimmir ul Dien Chan.

Chan Dowran was sly, artful, insinuating; of an active and intriguing disposition; in appearance assuming no authority, when, at the same time, he directed every thing. He executed, in public, as by the king's orders, whatever he himself had resolved upon in private. As the indolent Mahummud was even averse to the trouble of thinking, the suggestions of this artful Omrah, who was full of plausibility, and prompt to execute whatever he advised, were always grateful to the royal ear. The captain-general, though personally brave, permitted his master's authority to be daily insulted by despicable enemies. He foresaw that to take the field, without the king, would probably put an end to his influence over him; for he knew that the disposition of Mahummud was fickle and inconstant; and apt to be swayed to any thing, by every artful person near him.

Dowran made many unsuccessful attempts to persuade Mahummud to accompany him to the field. The dissolute monarch was not to be removed from the luxurious indolence of the palace.

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The captain-general, though much against his inclination, found himself obliged to march against these plunderers. But, instead of chastising them, he ingloriously promised to pay them the Chout, upon condition they should immediately evacuate the provinces.

The barbarians, gaining courage by this submission, and trusting very little to promises extorted by fear, from Dowran, crossed the Jumna, near Calpee, with a design to plunder the province of Oud. Sadit Chan, who then possessed that subaship, opposed them, between the rivers in the district of Korah, and gave them a total defeat. They fled to Feridabad near Delhi, whither they were closely pursued by Sadit, who had, on his way, joined the imperial army under Dowran.

Before the united armies under Dowran and Sadit came up, the Mahrattors made an attempt to plunder Delhi. They were opposed, without the walls, by two imperial Omrahs, Hassen Chan and Amir Chan, the former of whom was killed in the action. The Mahrattors had now possessed themselves of the suburbs, when Kimmir the vizier, coming up with an army, put them to flight. But notwithstanding these repeated defeats, the Mahrattors found means to retreat, with a great booty to the Decan.

The king and his ministers, finding that the Nizam of the Decan favored the incursions of the Mahrattors, devised many schemes

of disciplined valor * against the powers of the north, and by his own activity inspired his Omrahs with enterprize.

He loved glory to excess, and thirsted after a reputation for personal valor : he encouraged learning with the bounty of kings, and delighted in history, which is in truth the school of sovereigns. As his warm and active disposition prompted him to perform actions worthy of the divine pen of the poet, so he was particularly fond of heroic compositions in verse.—In short, the faults of Akbar were virtues carried to extremes ; and if he sometimes did things beneath the dignity of a great king, he never did any thing unworthy of a good man.

* Soldiers.

HISTORY

OF THE

MOGUL EMPIRE,

FROM

Its decline, in the Reign of MAHUMMUD
SHAW, to the Present Times.

SECTION I.

General Observations.---The Succession, from AKBAR to
MAHUMMUD SHAW. The growing Imbecillity of the
Empire.---Governors of the Provinces assume Inde-
pendence. Their Intrigues at the Court of Delhi.---
The Invasion of NADIR SHAW.

MAHUMMUD CASIM FERISHTA, the author of
the preceding history, finishes his account of the
kings of Delhi with the death of Akbar. The trans-
lator is still in hopes of being able to procure original and au-
thentic histories of the empire of Hindostan, from that period
down to the present times. He, therefore, will not break in

HISTORY OF THE DECLINE

upon his design of giving, some time or other, to the public, a complete history of the reigns of the posterity of Timur in India, by retailing the very imperfect accounts already published in Europe.

But as, to translate from the Persian language is a task of labor and difficulty, his engaging further, in works of this kind, will depend entirely upon the reception the public shall give to his first attempt in that way. If he shall find that he is not capable to acquit himself, in some degree, to the satisfaction of the world, he will, in prudence, lay down his pen; and leave that field to men of greater abilities, who may hereafter turn their thoughts to the subject.

The transactions of the court of Delhi, since the invasion of Nadir Shaw, are very little known in the West. They have not, even in Asia, been hitherto committed to writing; and if the present confusions of the Mogul empire shall long continue, it is probable the memory of them will die with those who were principally concerned in them. This consideration has induced the translator of Ferishta's history, to throw together the most material events, which happened in the empire, since the memorable irruption of the Persians, in the year 1738. He derives his authority, for some of the facts, from a Persian manuscript, now in his hands, concerning six years of the reign of Mahummud Shaw; and as to the rest, he principally follows a short sketch of the affairs of the empire, given to him in writing, by his intimate friend the Rai Raiân, secretary of state to the present mogul.

To continue the line of connection, between the preceding history and the reign of Mahummud Shaw, who sat upon the throne of Delhi when the invasion of Nadir Shaw happened, it may not be improper, just to mention the succession of the kings,
from

from Akbar to that period. It is necessary to observe, that, after consulting the most authentic Persian histories, the author of this account finds himself obliged to differ from all the European writers, who have treated on the subject, with regard to the duration of most of the reigns.

Upon the death of Akbar, his son Selim ascended the throne, in Agra, upon Thursday the 20th of Jemmad ul Sani, in the 1014 year of the Higera. He, upon his accession, assumed the title of JEHANGIRE, and reigned twenty-two years, nine months, and twenty days, with much more reputation and success than could have been expected of so weak a prince. His death happened upon Sunday the 28th of Siffer, in the 1037 year of the Higera.

A. D.
1605

SULTAN KURRUM, the third son of Jehangire, mounted the throne at Agra, upon the 8th of Jemmad ul Sani, in the year 1037, and, under the title of SHAW JEHAN, reigned thirty-two years, three months, and twenty days. He was deposed by his third son, the famous Aurungzebe, who dated the commencement of his reign, from the first of Ramzan, in the 1069 of the Higera. Aurungzebe, upon his accession, took the name of Allumgire*.

1627

ALLUMGIRE, having reigned fifty years, two months, and twenty-eight days, died, in a very advanced age, at Ahmednagur, in the Decan, upon Friday the 28th of Zicada, in the 1119 of the Higera.

1648

* Though Shaw Jehan was confined during the time his four rebellious sons, Dara Shekoh, Sultan Suja, Aurungzebe, and Morad Buksh, contended for the crown, yet as Aurungzebe prevailed over his brothers, and dated his reign from the year 1069, we have included the time of the civil wars in the reign of his father.

1707 Mahummud Mauzim, Aurungzebe's second son, succeeded his father in the throne, under the title of BAHADAR SHAW. He died, after a short reign of four years and eleven months, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Moaz ul Dien.

1712 Moaz ul Dien, under the title of JEHANDAR SHAW, reigned eighteen months. Some writers do not include him in the succession of kings, as the succeeding emperor, the son of Azim ul Shaw, the second son of Bahadar Shaw, under the name of Firrochfere, dated his reign from the death of his grandfather.

1713 FIRROCHSERE, according to his own computation, reigned six years. He was blinded, and afterwards put to death, by the two SEIDS, upon the 12th of Jammad ul Sani, in the 1130 of the Higera.

1717 RAFFEIH UL DIRJAT, the son of Raffeih ul Shaw, the third son of Bahadar Shaw, was raised to the throne, by the ambitious Seids; and after a nominal reign of three months, was put to death by the same faction, by whose interest he had obtained the crown.---His brother RAFFEIH UL DOWLAT succeeded him; but he died in a few days.

1718 MAHUMMUD SHAW, the son of Jehan Shaw, and grandson of Bahadar Shaw, acceded to the throne of Delhi, in the month of Shawal of the year 1130 of the Higera.---Mahummud Shaw, having rid himself of the two Seids, Abdalla Chan, and Hassen Chan, who had so long tyrannized in the empire, raising and deposing kings at pleasure, gave himself wholly up to indolence, and the enervating pleasures of the Haram. The distractions, before Mahummud's accession, occasioned principally by the ambition of the Seids, gave the first mortal wound to the Mogul empire, under which it has ever since languished. Most of the Omrahs,
either

either envying or dreading the power of the Seids, formed ambitious schemes of independence in their respective provinces, which the aparent debility of the regal authority very much favored.

Cuttulich Chan, who, as Nizam ul muluck, commanded all the provinces of the Decan, being sensible of the weakness of Mahummud, maintained a great standing army, under a pretence of keeping the unsubdued Hindoo Rajas and Mahrattor * chiefs in awe. But the real design of this force was to found an independent kingdom for the Nizam in the Decan, as Hassen Caco Bemeni had done in the reign of Tuglick Shaw †.

To facilitate his ambitious views, the Nizam ul muluck began to extend his power in the Decan, by the reduction of the neighbouring Rajas. Though the revenues of his government must have been very considerably increased by these conquests, he remitted none to the Delhi; and, at the same time, to weaken the empire, he encouraged, or at least, permitted the Mahrattors to make hostile incursions into the interior provinces. These irregular marauders ravaged the kingdoms of Malava, Narvar, Biana and Ajmere, in such a manner, that no revenues could be paid by the unfortunate inhabitants.

The weak Mahummud, instead of checking this insolence by the sword, disgraced the dignity of the house of Timur, by submitting to become, in a manner, tributary to these despicable banditti. He agreed to pay them the Chout, or fourth part of the revenues of those provinces, which had been subject to their

* These are they, who are known in Europe, under the disfigured name of Marattoes.

† This Hassen Caco mounted the throne at Kilbirga in the Decan, which city he called from himself, Hassen-abad, upon the 24th of Ribbi ul Achir, in the 748 of the Higera. He assumed the title of sultan Alla ul Dien.

depredations. From this pusillanimous conduct of Mahummud, we may date the irretrievable decline of the Mogul empire. That opinion, which supports government in every country, was now destroyed in India; and each petty chieftain began to start into a prince, as he had nothing to fear from a government which had betrayed such evident symptoms of timidity.

Chan Dowran Sumfam ul Dowla was, at this time, Amir ul Omrah, or captain-general of the empire. As the offices of paymaster-general and commander in chief of the troops are injudiciously joined in one person, in Hindostan, Chan Dowran had such an influence in the state, that he engrossed to himself all the ministerial power. He left, in short, nothing but their names in the government to the king and his vizier, Kimmir ul Dien Chan.

Chan Dowran was sly, artful, insinuating; of an active and intriguing disposition; in appearance assuming no authority, when, at the same time, he directed every thing. He executed, in public, as by the king's orders, whatever he himself had resolved upon in private. As the indolent Mahummud was even averse to the trouble of thinking, the suggestions of this artful Omrah, who was full of plausibility, and prompt to execute whatever he advised, were always grateful to the royal ear. The captain-general, though personally brave, permitted his master's authority to be daily insulted by despicable enemies. He foresaw that to take the field, without the king, would probably put an end to his influence over him; for he knew that the disposition of Mahummud was fickle and inconstant; and apt to be swayed to any thing, by every artful person near him.

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schemes to inveigle him to court, that they might deprive him either of his life or government. The crafty Nizam, penetrating into their designs, conceived an implacable resentment against Chan Dowran, who, he knew, was at the bottom of the whole affair. But as the empire, notwithstanding its growing imbecillity, was still sufficiently strong to reduce the Nizam, had he broke forth in open rebellion, he thought it most prudent to obey the royal command. He, however, previously, strengthened his interest at court, by a coalition with many great Omrahs, who were disgusted with the insolence of Dowran.

Cuttulich Chan, having taken a step so necessary for his own safety, set out for court, leaving his son Ghazi ul Dien in the government of the Decan. He arrived at Agra, with a retinue, or rather an army of 20000 men; and, as he held the office of Vakeel Muttuluch *, he expected to command Chan Dowran, and to draw all the reins of government into his own hands.

Sadit Chan, Suba of Oud, pluming himself upon his success against the Mahrattors, aspired to the ministerial power. The king continued to favor Dowran, and to support him against the Nizam; for, however weak Mahummud was, he could not but see through that ambitious governor's designs, by his behavior for some years back. But, as the Nizam had, upon the spot, a force to protect his person, and a strong party at court; and as his son, a man of great parts, commanded all the provinces of the Decan, the king was assured, that to deprive Cuttulich Chan of his government, would occasion a revolt, which, in its consequences, might prove fatal to the royal house of Timur.

In the mean time, Sadit Chan, finding that he could not effect any thing against the united interests of the Nizam and vizier,

* For the nature of this office see the preface.

who

who had joined factions, was easily brought over to their party. The terms of this coalition were, that when the Nizam and Vizier should force themselves into the management of the affairs of government, Sadit Chan should be appointed buckshi *, with the title of Amir ul omrah, which Dowran at that time possessed.

The accession of Sadit and his party did not render the faction of the Nizam and Vizier sufficiently strong to turn Dowran from his high employ. He had absolute possession of the royal ear, and the army, who depended upon him for their pay, remained firm to his interest. The faction of the malcontents was reduced to despair; and Nizam ul muluck, to gratify his resentment against Dowran, concerted, with Sadit, a plan, which gave the last stroke to the tottering authority of the crown.

The famous Nadir Shaw, king of Persia, was, at this juncture, in the province of Candahar. The disaffected Omrahs resolved to invite him to Hindostan. They foresaw that a Persian invasion would occasion confusions and distractions in the empire, which must facilitate their own schemes of independence in their respective governments; it must, at any rate, ruin Chan Dowran, which was a very capital object to men possessed of such inveterate animosities against that minister.

Whether the Nizam did not even extend his views to the empire itself, admits of some doubt. Many sensible men in India think that he did; and affirm, that his opinion was, that Nadir Shaw would depose Mahummud; and, to secure his conquest, extirpate the family of Timur: he argued with himself, that as it was not probable that the Persian would fix his residence in Hindostan, he hoped, for his services, to secure to himself the vice-

* Paymaster-general of the forces.

A. D. 1738. royship of that empire; and that afterwards time and circumstances would point out the line of his future proceedings.

Full of these ambitious projects, and at the same time to avenge himself of his political enemy, the Nizam, in conjunction with Sadit, wrote to Nadir Shaw. That monarch received their letters at Candahar, and, in an answer to them, pointed out many difficulties which he had to surmount in the proposed invasion. He represented to them, that it would be extremely difficult to penetrate even into Cabul and Peshawir, which provinces Nasir Chan had governed for twenty years, with great reputation, and kept in pay a formidable army of Moguls and Afgans: that should he even force his way through the government of Nasir, there were five great rivers to cross in Punjâb, where Zekirriah Chan, subadâr of Lahore, would certainly oppose him; and that even should he get over those obstacles, the imperial army still remained to be defeated.

March.

Nizam ul muluck, and his colleague in treason, endeavoured to remove the king's objections, by assuring him, that they would bring over the governors of the frontier provinces to their faction; and that, as they themselves commanded one half of the imperial army, little danger was to be dreaded from the other. Nadir Shaw began his march from Candahar, with a great army, about the vernal equinox of the 1149 of the Higera. He took the rout of Ghizni, and the governor of that city came out with presents, and submitted himself and the province to the king, agreeing to pay the usual revenues to Persia. Nadir Shaw continued his march from Ghizni to Cabul, which city he immediately invested. Shirza Chan, an omra of seventy years of age, was, at this time, governor of Cabul. Being summoned, he

he refused to surrender, and made the proper dispositions for an A. D. 1738.
obstinate defence.

The king of Persia finding that neither fair promises nor threats could induce Shirza to open the gates of Cabul, assaulted the place for six days together. In this desperate manner, many of the bravest soldiers, who suffer most upon these occasions, fell; without making any impression on the besieged: upon the seventh day, Nadir Shaw found means to bring over to his party Nasir Chan, governor of the province of Cabul, the son of that Nasir, who was, for twenty years, subadâr of Peshawir. That traitor, with the provincial army, presented himself at that gate of the city which was opposite to the side of the attack, and sent a letter to the gallant Shirza. He requested immediate admittance to the place, to prevent his being cut off by the enemy; insinuating, that his forces, when joined with the garrison, would be a match for the Persians in the field.

The unfortunate Shirza, not suspecting the treachery of the young Omrah, consented to receive within the walls the women and baggage of the provincial army; but insisted that the troops should encamp before the gate, till they should consult together what was best to be done upon this urgent occasion.

The women and baggage were accordingly admitted, with a proper guard, and Shirza, with a few attendants, went out to have an interview with Nasir. No sooner was Shirza out of the city, than the king of Persia began a general assault; while one Abdul Rahim, an officer of the traitor Nasir, seized upon Shirza, and confined him.

A. D. 1738.

The two sons of Shirza, ignorant of their father's fate, in the mean time defended the gates with great firmness and resolution; till one of them was killed by that part of Nasir's army that had been admitted into the city. The remaining brother, in this desperate situation, knew not which enemy he ought to oppose, while the garrison, struck with terror and confusion, deserted their posts upon the wall. Nadir Shaw took advantage of this panick, forced open the gates, took the place, massacred many of the inhabitants, and inhumanly put to death the gallant Shirza Chan and his son.

The king of Persia found in the treasury of Cabul two crores of roupees, and effects to the value of two crores more: in these were included four thousand complete suits of armour, inlaid with gold; four thousand of polished steel, four thousand mails for horses, and a great quantity of fine tissues and dresses, deposited in Cabul by Shaw Jehan. Nadir Shaw remained at Cabul seven months, before he would attempt to cross the Indus. He, in the mean time, kept up a correspondence with the conspirators in Delhi, and maturely settled his plan of operations. He, at length, put his army in motion, and directed his march to Pishawir.

Nasir Chan, subadar of Pishawir, had wrote, repeatedly, to the court of Delhi, for succours; but Chan Dowran, in his answers, affected to despise the king of Persia; and insinuated, that it was impossible he could meditate the conquest of Hindostan. He, however, promised, from time to time, that he himself would march with the imperial army, and drive the invader back to Persia. The disaffected Omrahs wrote, at the same time, to Nasir, to make the best terms he could with Nadir Shaw;

Shaw; for that there was little hopes of his being reinforced A. D. 1738.
with any part of the royal army.

Nafir Chan, finding himself neglected by the court, after a faint resistance, surrendered himself prisoner to the king of Persia, upon the 20th of Shabân. He was soon after taken into favor Novemb. 20. by that monarch, and appointed one of his viziers. Nadir Shaw had, by this time, crossed the Attock or the Nilâb, one of the most considerable of the five branches of the Indus. He issued out an order to ravage the country, to spread the terror of his arms far and wide.

Daily advices of the approach of the Persians came to Delhi. A general consternation among the people, and a distraction in the councils of the government ensued. The king and his minister, Dowran, were so weak, that either they did not suspect the treachery of the disaffected Omrahs, or took no measures to prevent their designs. New obstacles were daily thrown in the way of the military preparations of Dowran, till the Nizam and his colleagues thought, that the procrastination which they had occasioned, had sufficiently weakened the imperial cause.

Upon the first of Ramzan, the Vizier, the Nizam ul muluck, December 11. and Dowran, incamped without the city, with a great train of artillery, and began to levy forces. Nadir Shaw, during these transactions, crossed the Bea, and on the first of Shawal appeared before Lahore. Zekeriah Chan, governor of the city and province, who was incamped with 5000 horse before the walls, retreated into the city. He, the next day, marched out and attacked the Persians. A general rout of his army was the consequence, and the conquerors were so close to the heels of the run-aways, that they possessed themselves of the gates.---Zekeriah
1739.
January.

A. D. 1739. keriah waited immediately upon Nadir Shaw, with a nazir of half a lack of roupees, was politely received by that monarch, and Lahore was preserved from being plundered.

February 14. The king of Persia continued his march towards Delhi, and, upon the 14th of Zicada, appeared in sight of the imperial army. Mahummud Shaw was incamped upon the plains of Karnal; so that only the canal, which supplied Delhi with water, divided the armies. The Moguls had only possessed themselves of that ground about two days before the arrival of Nadir Shaw, and had thrown up entrenchments and redoubts before them, mounted with five hundred pieces of artillery. The army, which the king now commanded in person, consisted of 150,000 horse, exclusive of irregular infantry. This unweildy body of militia was composed of all sorts of people, collected indiscriminately in the provinces, by the Omrahs, who thought that a sufficient number of men and horses was all that was necessary to form a good army. Subordination was a thing unknown in the Mogul camp: the private soldier, as well as the Omrah, acted only by the impulse of his own mind.

The Persians, though not so numerous as the Moguls, were under some degree of regulation. The rank of Nadir Shaw's officers was determined; and his own commands were instantly and implicitly obeyed. Severe to excess, he pardoned no neglect or disobedience in his Omrahs. He has even been known to send an *essawil* * to a general, at the head of 5000 horse; with orders to make him halt and receive corporal punishment, for a misdemeanor, in the front of his own men. Though this rigor may be thought in Europe too tyrannical and repugnant to a military spirit; yet, in a country where the principles of honor are

* A mace-bearer.

little known, fear is the strongest motive to a strict performance of duty. A. D. 1739.

Sadit Chan, upon the 14th of Zicada, having out-marched his baggage, joined the imperial army. Just as he was receiving an honorary dress from Mahummud Shaw, advice came that the Herawils of Nadir Shaw had attacked his baggage. Sadit Chan requested of the king to be permitted to march out against the Herawils. The whole of this attack was a plan concerted between Nadir Shaw and the traitor, in order to draw the Moguls from their entrenchments. The king, however, laid his commands upon Sadit to wait until the next morning, when, "by the favor of God," he intended to march out, with his whole army, to give the Persians battle. February 14.

But so little did Sadit regard Mahummud's orders, that, as soon as he had quitted the presence, he issued out with 10000 horse, which he had brought from his government, and attacked the enemy. A mock engagement now commenced, between Sadit and a part of the Persian army; who were ordered to retreat before him. He sent repeated messages, from the field to the king, requesting more troops, and that he would drive the enemy back to Persia.

Mahummud, justly incensed at the disobedience of Sadit, would not, for some time, permit any succours to be sent to him. Chan Dowran, at length, prevailed with the king to permit him, with 15000 men, to support Sadit. When Chan Dowran came up to the field, Sadit, in a feigned attack, joined the Persians, and permitted himself to be taken prisoner. His design was to get the start of his partner in treason, Nizam ul muluck, in engaging the Persian monarch in his interest.

In the mean time, the troops of Sadit being strangers to the treachery of their commander, joined Chan Dowran, and continued the engagement. Chan Dowran was immediately attacked on all sides, by the bulk of the Persian army. He, however, for some time, maintained his ground with great firmness and resolution; and was at length unwillingly drawn from the field, though he had received a wound which soon after proved mortal, by three repeated messages from the king, commanding his immediate attendance.

Mahummud Shaw was, with good reason, apprehensive that Nizam ul muluck, who was then in the camp, was preparing to seize him, which made him so anxious for the presence of Dowran. When the wounded general appeared before the king, he told him the situation of affairs, and earnestly intreated him to permit him to return to the field, with the troops which were under his immediate command, as captain-general, consisting of 36000 men, together with two hundred pieces of cannon. "Grant my request," said he, "and you shall never see me return but in triumph."

The king was now perplexed beyond measure. He dreaded the designs of the Nizam, should Dowran be absent, and, at the same time, he durst not permit the traitor to march out of the lines, for fear he should join the Persians. He, therefore, fell into the common error of weak minds, and hesitated, in hopes that delay would give birth to a more favorable concurrence of events.---He was deceived: the happy moment, for the preservation of himself and the empire, was now upon the wing. His troops maintained still their ground, under Muzziffer, the gallant brother of Dowran; and a reinforcement would turn the scale of victory in their favor.

When

When Chan Dowran quitted the field, the command of those Moguls, who were engaged, devolved upon his brother Muzziffer. That brave Omrah made a violent charge upon the Persian army, and penetrated to the very door of Nadir Shaw's tent. There, for want of being supported from the camp, Muzziffer, Affil Ali Chan, Dowran's son, Raja Gugermull, Meer Mullu, Eadgar Chan, and twenty-seven officers of distinction, covered one small spot of ground with their bodies. Ten thousand common Mogul soldiers were slain in this desperate action; which had almost proved fatal to Nadir Shaw, for his whole army were upon the point of giving way; several great detachments having fled back forty miles from the field of battle. After the engagement, the few that remained of the Moguls, retired within the entrenchments*.

Chan Dowran, though wounded, had that night an interview with the Nizam ul muluck. It was agreed, that the whole army should next morning march out of the lines, and attack the Persians in their camp. But when the morning came, Chan Dowran's wound, which he had received in the arm, was so much inflamed, that he could not act, and, therefore, the meditated attack was delayed. In the evening of the 18th, a mortification ensued, which was then attributed to something applied to the wound by a surgeon bribed by the Nizam; and many in India still continue in the same belief. Be that as it will, Chan Dowran expired that night, amidst the tears of his sovereign, who had a great friendship for him.

* Frazer says, that only 4000 Persians were engaged; but we have reason to doubt his authority, as we derive our account from several persons, who were present in the action.

A. D. 1739.

When this brave Omrah, on whom alone the hopes of Mahummud Shaw rested, was dead, Nizam ul muluck stood unrivalled in the management of affairs. The whole authority devolved upon him, and the king became a cypher in the midst of his own camp. The traitor finding now the power of the empire in his hands, under a certainty of being able to dispose of the king at any time, according to his own pleasure, set a treaty on foot with Nadir Shaw, for the immediate return of that monarch into Persia. So little hopes had the Persian, at this time, of conquering the Mogul empire, that he actually agreed for the pitiful sum of fifty lacks of roupees to evacuate Hindostan.

Sadit Chan, who, we have already observed, was in the Persian camp, hearing of these transactions, used all possible means to break off the treaty. The regard of Nadir Shaw to his plighted faith, was not proof against the lucrative offers of Sadit. That Omrah promised to pay to the Persian two crores of roupees out of his own private fortune, upon condition he should reduce the Nizam, and place himself at the head of the administration.--- In the mean time, the Nizam, who was now appointed Amir ul omrah, by Mahummud, finding that Nadir Shaw broke the treaty, began to talk in a high strain, and to make preparations for coming to action with the Persians, to which the king strenuously urged him. But the active spirit of Nadir Shaw was not idle during these transactions. He possessed himself of several strong posts, round the Indian camp, and totally cut off their supplies of provisions. The Nizam perceiving that he must act with great disadvantage, if he should march out of his lines and attack the Persians, began to renew the treaty, and offered more than Sadit had done to Nadir Shaw.

Mahummud,

Mahummud, being informed that these two villains, without his communication, were making separate bargains, about himself and his empire, and that he even had not the shadow of authority in his own camp, took a sudden resolution to throw himself upon the clemency of Nadir Shaw. "A declared enemy," said he to the few friends who still adhered to him, "is by no means to be dreaded so much as secret foes, under the specious character of friends." Having, therefore, previously acquainted the Persian of his intentions, he set out in the morning of the 20th, in his travelling throne, with a small retinue, for Nadir Shaw's camp.

A. D. 1739.
February 20.

The king of Persia, upon the Mogul's approach, sent his son, Nisir Alla Mirza, to conduct him to the royal tent. Nadir Shaw advanced a few steps from his Musnid, and embraced Mahummud, and, sitting down, placed him upon his left hand. The substance of their conversation has been already given to the public by Frazer: and, therefore, we shall only observe here, that Nadir Shaw severely reprimanded Mahummud, for his pusillanimous behaviour, in paying the Chout to the Mahrattors, and for suffering himself to be invested in his camp, in the very center of his dominions, without making one single effort to repel the invasion.

Nadir Shaw, after this conversation, retired to another tent, called to him his vizier, and consulted with him what was best to be done with Mahummud, in this critical situation. The vizier told him, that, should he confine the king, the Nizam, who commanded the army, would immediately act for himself; and, as he was an able officer, they might meet with great difficulty in reducing him. But that, should the king be permitted to return to the camp with assurances of friendship and protection,

A. D. 1739. tection, a party would join Mahummud, that would, at least, be a ballance against the influence of the Nizam.

Nadir Shaw saw the propriety of what his vizier advised. He immediately returned to the royal tent, and told Mahummud, that, as hitherto the imperial house of Timur had not injured the Persians, it was far from his intentions to deprive Mahummud Shaw of his kingdom. "But," said he, with a determined look, "the expence of this expedition must be paid, and, during the time of collecting the money, my fatigued army must refresh themselves in Delhi."

February 24. The emperor made little reply to Nadir Shaw's discourse. He was, however, permitted to return to his camp, and the Persian began to lay schemes to seize the Nizam. One Cafim Beg was employed in this affair. He, in Nadir Shaw's name, made the Nizam many protestations of friendship, and obtained a promise, that he would visit that monarch in his camp. He accordingly, upon the 24th, set out, and was, immediately upon his arrival in the Persian lines, seized, and, together with some great Omrahs who attended him, confined.

February 26. Mahummud Shaw, looking upon the Nizam's confinement as a plan laid by the traitor himself, in order that he might negotiate matters with the Persian with more security, determined to pay a second visit to Nadir Shaw.---That monarch had, by this time, secured most of the Mogul omrahs, one after another, and when Mahummud, upon the 26th, arrived in the camp, a tent was pitched for him near the royal pavilion. The unfortunate Mahummud was carried into his tent, and left for some time alone. A collation was brought him, and he ate very heartily; without betraying any symptoms of being affected with his unhappy situation.

situation. Nadir Shaw was greatly astonished when he heard of A. D. 1739. Mahummud's behavior, and exclaimed: "What kind of man must this be, who can, with so much indifference, give his freedom and empire to the wind? But we are told, by the wise, that greatness of mind consists in two extremes: to suffer patiently, or to act boldly; to despise the world, or to exert all the powers of the mind to command it. This man has chosen the former: but the latter was the choice of Nadir Shaw."

Though Mahummud was hindered from returning to his own camp, he was permitted to have all his domestics about him, who amounted to three thousand. A thousand Kiffelbash horse mounted guard upon him: but this pretended honor, which was conferred upon him, was a certain badge of his forlorn condition. In the mean time, Kummir ul dien, the vizier, Surbullind Chan, Nizam ul muluck, and all the principal Mogul omrahs, were kept in the same kind of honorable confinement. The Persian had now nothing to fear from an army without officers. He entered the camp, seized upon the ordnance, the military chest, the jewel-office, the wardrobe and armory.---He ordered three months pay to be immediately advanced to his troops, and the best of the artillery he sent off to Cabul.

Upon the 2d of Zehidge, Nadir Shaw moved from Karnâl March 2. towards Delhi. The emperor, guarded by ten thousand men, marched a few miles in his rear. The Mogul army were, at the same time, ordered to march in two irregular columns, one on each side of the Persians, the front of whose column was advanced two miles beyond the other two. By continued marches, Nadir Shaw arrived upon the 8th in the suburbs of the city. He himself, at the head of 12000 horse, entered the city next day.

The

A. D. 1739.

The king of Persia, finding himself in possession of Delhi, called Nizam ul muluck and Sadit Chan into his presence, and addressed them in the following extraordinary manner: "Are
 " not you both most ungrateful villains to your king and coun-
 " try; who, after possessing such wealth and dignities, called
 " me, from my own dominions, to ruin them and yourselves?
 " But I will scourge you all with my wrath, which is the instru-
 " ment of the vengeance of God." Having spoke these words, he spit upon their beards, and turned them, with every mark of indignity, from his presence.

After the traitors were thrust out into the court of the palace, the Nizam addressed himself to Sadit Chan, and swore, by the holy prophet, that he would not survive this indignity. Sadit Chan applauded his resolution, and swore he would swallow poison upon his return home; the Nizam did the same; and both determined in appearance upon death, retired to their respective houses.

Sadit Chan, in the mean time, sent a trusty spy to bring him intelligence when the Nizam should take his draught. The Nizam, being come home, appeared in the deepest affliction: but having privately intimated his plot to a servant, he ordered him to bring him the poison. The servant acted his part well. He brought him an innocent draught, with great reluctance. The Nizam, after some hesitation, and having formally said his prayers, drank it off in the presence of Sadit's spy, and soon after pretended to fall down dead.

The spy hastened back to his master, and told him that the Nizam had just expired. Sadit, ashamed of being outdone in a point of honor by his fellow in iniquity, swallowed a draught of
 real

real poison, and became the just instrument of punishment to his own villainy. The Nizam was not ashamed to live, though none had greater reason. He even prided in that wicked trick, by which he had rid himself of his rival, and afterwards actually enjoyed the intended fruits of all his villainies. A. D. 1739.

The Persian, in the mean time, placed guards upon the gates of Delhi, with orders to permit no person whatever to pass in or out without his special licence. These strict injunctions were given to prevent the inhabitants from evacuating the place, and from carrying away their wealth. He, at the same time, issued his commands, that no person whatsoever should be molested; but he demanded twenty-five crores, as a contribution for sparing the city.

Whilst the magistrates were contriving ways and means to raise this enormous sum, by laying a tax in proportion to their wealth on individuals, famine began to rage in the city, as all communication with the country was cut off. Upon the 10th Nadir Shaw ordered the granaries to be opened, and sold rice at a certain price. This occasioned a prodigious mob in all the public Bazars, particularly in the Shawgunge, or royal market. A Persian kiffelbash in this market, seeing a man selling pigeons, seized by force upon his basket. The fellow, to whom the pigeons belonged, made a hideous outcry, and proclaimed aloud, That Nadir Shaw had ordered a general pillage. March 10.

The mob immediately fell upon the Kiffelbash, who was protected by some of his own countrymen. A great tumult arose, and some persons, bent upon more mischief, cried aloud, That Nadir Shaw was dead; and that now was the time to drive the Persians out of the city. The citizens, who in general carried arms,

A. D. 1739. arms, drew their swords, and began to cut to pieces the Persians, wherever they could be found. The report of the death of Nadir Shaw flew, like lightning, through every street in Delhi; and all places were filled with tumult, confusion, and death. It was now dark, and the Persians, who had been straggling through the city, returned to the citadel, except two thousand who were killed by the mob.

About twelve o'clock at night, the king of Persia was informed of these transactions. He immediately ordered what men he had with him under arms, and, putting himself at their head, marched out as far as the Musgid of Roshin ul Dowlat. He thought it prudent to halt there till day-light should appear. He, in the mean time, sent for the Nizam, Sirbillind Chan, and Kimmir ul dien, and threatened to put them to instant death, charging them with fomenting these tumults. They swore upon the Coran, that they were innocent, and he pardoned them.

March 11. When day began to appear, a person from a neighbouring terrace fired upon Nadir Shaw, and killed an officer by his side. The king was so enraged, that, though the tumult had, by this time, totally subsided, he ordered the officers of the cavalry to lead their squadrons through the streets, and some musqueteers to scour the terraces, and to commence a general massacre among the unfortunate inhabitants. This order was executed with so much rigor, that, before two o'clock in the afternoon, above 100,000, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, lay dead in their blood, though not above one third part of the city was visited by the sword. Such was the panic, terror and confusion of these poor wretches, that instead of bravely opposing death, the men threw down their arms, and, with their wives and children, submitted themselves like sheep to the slaughter.

One

One Persian soldier often butchered a whole family, without meeting with any resistance. The Hindoos, according to their barbarous custom, shut up their wives and daughters, and set fire to their apartments, and then threw themselves into the flames. Thousands plunged headlong into wells and were drowned; death was seen in every horrid shape; and, at last, seemed rather to be sought after than avoided.

The king of Persia sat, during this dreadful scene, in the Musgid of Roshin ul Dowlat. None but his slaves durst come near him, for his countenance was dark and terrible. At length, the unfortunate emperor, attended by a number of his chief Omrahs, ventured to approach him with downcast eyes. The Omrahs, who preceded Mahummud Shaw, bowed down their foreheads to the ground. Nadir Shaw sternly asked them what they wanted? They cried out, with one voice, "Spare the city." Mahummud said not a word, but the tears flowed fast from his eyes. The tyrant sheathed his sword, and said, "For the sake of Mirza Mahummud, I forgive."

No sooner had he pronounced these words than, according to our author, the massacre was stopt; and so instantaneous was the effect of his orders, that in a few minutes every thing was calm in the city. He then retired into the citadel, and inquired into the original cause of the tumult. Seid Neaz Chan, the superintendant of the royal market, for having been active in this affair, was put to death. Kifrah Chan, a brave Omrah, for having defended his house against the Persians who came to massacre his family, but who had not been concerned in the tumult, was beheaded.

A. D. 1739.

The tyrant's thirst for blood was not yet satisfied. He sent detachments daily to plunder the villages near Delhi, and to put all the inhabitants to the sword. Six thousand of the inhabitants of Mogulpurra were cut off for a very trivial offence. He sent a party into the royal market, where the tumult first arose, and ordered seven hundred persons to be seized indiscriminately, and to cut off their noses and ears.

When now all disturbances were quelled by the blood of the unfortunate Delhians, the king of Persia had leisure to pillage the city at pleasure. He seized upon the public treasure and the regalia of Mahummud Shaw. In the treasury several vaults were discovered, in which much wealth lay concealed, as well as many valuable effects. In the public treasury was found in specie, three crores of roupees: in the private vaults near two crores more. The Jewaer Channa* was estimated at twenty-five crores, including the Tucht Taoos, which alone cost ten. The royal wardrobe and armory were valued at five crores. Six crores were raised in specie, by way of contribution, upon the city, and about eight crores in jewels; all which, together with horses, camels and elephants, amount to about fifty crores, or sixty-two millions five hundred thousand pounds of our money.

Great cruelties were exercised in levying the contributions upon the city. Under an arbitrary government, like that of India, individuals find it necessary to conceal their wealth. Some Omrahs, therefore, who had very little were taxed very high, whilst others who were rich came off with a moderate sum. Many of the former, under the supposition, that they actually possessed more wealth, were, after they had given all they were

* The jewel-office.

worth

worth in the world, tortured to death; whilst others, to avoid A. D. 1739.
pain, shame and poverty, put, with their own hands, an end to
their miserable existence.

Upon the 21st of Mohirrim, the king of Persia celebrated the
nuptials of his son, Mirza Nasir Alli, with the daughter of Ezidan
Buksh, the son of Kaam Buksh, and grandson of the famous
Aurangzebe. The Shaw himself discovered a violent desire to
espouse the beautiful daughter of Muziffer Chan*; but he was
prevented by one of his wives, who had the art to command the
furious spirit of Nadir Shaw, which the rest of the world could
not controul.

During all these transactions the gates of the city were kept
shut. Famine began to rage every day more and more; but the
Shaw was deaf to the miseries of mankind. The public spirit of
Tucki, a famous actor, deserves to be recorded upon this occasion.
He exhibited a play before Nadir Shaw, with which that monarch
was so well pleased, that he commanded Tucki to ask what he
wished should be done for him. Tucki fell upon his face, and
said, "O king, command the gates to be opened, that the poor
"may not perish." His request was granted, and half the city
poured out into the country; and the place was supplied in a few
days with plenty of provisions.

The king of Persia, having now raised all the money he could
in Delhi, reinstated Mahummud Shaw in the empire, upon the
third of Siffer, with great solemnity and pomp. He placed the
crown upon his head with his own hand, and presented him with
a rich chelat; distributing, at the same time, forty more among
the Mogul omrahs. He then gave to the emperor some in-
structions concerning the regulation of his army; to which he

* The brother of Chan Dowran. He was slain in the battle at Karnal.

A. D. 1739. added some general maxims of government.. He put him upon his guard against the Nizam, who, he plainly perceived, aspired above the rank of a subject. "Had not I," said the king of Persia, " foolishly passed my word for his safety, the old * traitor " should not now live to disturb Mahummud."

Every thing being ready upon the 7th, for Nadir Shaw's return to Persia, strict orders were issued to his army to carry no slaves away, nor any Indian women, contrary to their inclinations, upon pain of immediate death. Before his departure, he obliged Mahummud formally to cede to the crown of Persia, the provinces of Cabul, Peshawir, Kandahâr, Ghizni, Moultan and Sind, or, in general, all those countries which lie to the north-west of the Indus and Attoc. The whole of the treasure which Nadir Shaw carried from Hindostan, amounted, by the best computation, to eighty millions of our money.

When this destructive comet, to use the expression of our Indian author, rolled back from the meridian of Delhi, he burnt all the towns and villages in his way to Lahore, and marked his rout with devastation and death. " But before he disappears behind the mountains of Persia," says our author, continuing the metaphor of the comet, " it may not be improper to throw some light on the character of this scourge of Hindostan." Nadir Shaw, together with great strength of body, was endued with uncommon force of mind. Inured to fatigue from his youth, struggling with dangers and difficulties, he acquired vigor from opposition, and a fortitude of soul, unknown in a life of ease. His ambition was unbounded and undisguised: he never fawned for power, but demanded it as the property of his superior parts. Had he been born to a throne, he deserved it; had he conti-

* The Nizam was near ninety years of age.

nued a subject, his glories would have been less dazzling, but A. D. 1739.
more permanent and pure.

In a country where patriotism and honor are principles little known, fear is the only means to enforce obedience. This rendered Nadir Shaw so cruel and inexorable, that often, in his rage and the hurry of action, he inflicted general punishments for the crimes of a few. Courage, which he possessed in common with the lion, was his only virtue; and he owed his greatness to the great defects of his mind. Had his eye melted at human miseries, had his soul shuddered at murder, had his breast glowed once with benevolence, or, had his heart revolted at any injustice, he might have lived to an old age, but he would have died without the name of Nadir *.

* Wonderful.

SECTION II.

The Conclusion of the Reign of MAHUMMUD SHAW.

THE king of Persia having evacuated Hindostan, the Nizam began to discover his own ambitious designs. His rivals were now all removed; some by his villainy, and others by favorable accidents. Without opposition, the management of affairs fell into his hands. Though he ingrossed, in fact, the whole power, he delegated the great offices of state to others. The name of vizier was retained by Kimmir ul Dien, and that of Buckshi, or captain-general, was conferred upon the Nizam's son, Ghazi ul Dien Chan. He appointed Emir Chan subadâr of Allahabad, which so disgusted Mahomed Chan Bunguîsh, to whom that government was promised by the former administration, that he left the court without leave, and repaired to his Jagier at Ferochabad.

The government of Oud being vacant by the death of Sadit Chan, that subaship was conferred upon an Omrah, called Seifdar Jung, together with the title of Burhan ul muluck. The Nizam, having nothing to fear from the subas of the other provinces, continued them in their employs. Notwithstanding the severe blow which the empire had just received, no measures were taken to revive the declining power of the crown. This was, by no means, the interest of the Nizam, who now assumed every thing of the king, but the name.

Mahummud Shaw having suffered himself to be divested of his power in his capital, it could not be expected that his authority should be much regarded in the provinces. The nabobs
and

and rajas, throughout the empire, paid now little attention to the firmâns of the court of Delhi. Each of them entertained ideas of independence, and actually possessed a regal authority in their governments.---The Mahrattors, who had, for some time back, made large strides to establish the ancient Hindoo government in India, in the year 1153, made an incursion into the Carnatic A. D. 1740. with an army of eighty thousand horse, under the command of Ragojee. Having forced the passes of the mountains, they fell unexpectedly upon Dooft Ali, nabob of that province, in subordination to the Nizam, who was governor-general of the Decan. The forces of Dooft Ali were defeated, and he himself, together with his son, Haffin Ali, fell in the action, after having exhibited extraordinary feats of bravery and firmness.

Sipadar Ali, the son, and Chunder Saib, the son-in-law of Dooft Ali, had still considerable armies under their command. But both having views upon the government of the province, instead of opposing the Mahrattors, committed hostilities upon one another. The consequence was, that they were obliged to shut themselves up in places of strength, the first in Velour, and the latter in Trichinopoly. The enemy were, by this means, permitted to ravage the province at their leisure, and to raise heavy contributions upon the inhabitants.

Sipadar Ali, finding he could effect nothing in the field against the Mahrattors, set a negotiation on foot with them, by the means of his father's minister, who had been taken prisoner in the action by those barbarians. It was at last determined in private, that, upon condition the Mahrattors should immediately evacuate the Carnatic, they should receive one hundred lacks of roupees, at stated periods; and that, as a security for the payment of this sum, they should be put in possession of the territory of Trichi-

A. D. 1740. Trichinopoly. One of the terms was, that Sipadar Ali should be acknowledged nabob of the Carnatic.

Ali, having thus strengthened himself with the alliance of the Mahrattors, his brother-in-law thought it prudent to pay him homage at Arcot; not knowing that Trichinopoly, and those districts which he possessed, had been made over to the Mahrattors. The barbarians, in the mean time, returned to their own dominions; but, about six months thereafter, they made a second irruption into the Carnatic, to take possession of the territories which had been privately ceded to them by Sipadar Ali. Chunder Saib shut himself up in Trichinopoly; and after sustaining a siege of three months, was, upon the seventh of Mohirrim, 1154, obliged to surrender at discretion.

These transactions in the Decan did not disturb the peace at Delhi. The king and his ministers continued in a profound lethargy ever since the invasion of Nadir Shaw, and seemed indifferent about the affairs of the distant provinces. But a pressing danger at home roused them for a moment. A fellow, from the low rank of a grafs-cutter, raised himself to the command of a gang of robbers. As in the debilitated state of government, he committed, for some time, his depredations with impunity, his banditti, by degrees, swelled to an army of twelve thousand men. He immediately assumed the imperial ensigns, under the title of Daranti Shaw. This mushroom of a king was, however, soon destroyed. Azim Alla, a gallant Omrah, was sent against him with an army from Delhi. He came up with the rebels, cut the most of them to pieces, and slew Daranti in the action. This happened in the 1153 of the Higera.

In

In the month of Regib, 1154, Sipadar Ali, nabob of the Carnatic, was assassinated by his brother-in-law, Mortaz Ali, who immediately acceded to the Musnud. But a general mutiny arising in the army, the murderer was obliged to fly from his capital, in a female dress; and Mahummud Chan, the son of Sipadar, was proclaimed suba of the Carnatic. A. D. 1741.

The Nizam, who claimed the sovereignty of the Decan, seeing these repeated revolutions in the Carnatic, without his concurrence, began to prepare to leave the court of Delhi. He settled his affairs with the ministry, and returned to Hyderabad. He immediately collected an army, and, in the month of Ramzan, 1155, marched towards the Carnatic with near three hundred thousand men. In the Siffer of 1156, the Nizam arrived at Arcot without opposition; and found the country in such anarchy and confusion, that no less than twenty petty chiefs had assumed the titles of Nabob. The Nizam made a regulation, that whoever should take the name of Nabob, for the future, without permission, should be publicly scourged; and raised immediately Abdulla Chan, one of his own generals, to the subaship of Arcot; ordering the son of Sipadar Ali into confinement. He, at the same time, possessed himself of the city of Trichonopoly by means of a sum of money which he gave to Malhar Raw, who commanded there on the part of the Mahrattors.

The Nizam, without drawing the sword, thus settled the affairs of the Carnatic. He returned in triumph to Golcondah, whither Abdulla Chan, the new governor of Arcot, accompanied him. Abdulla, returning towards his government, was, the first night after his taking leave of the Nizam, found dead in his bed; not without suspicion of poison from Anwar ul Dien Chan, who succeeded him in the nabobship of Arcot, in the year 1157.

A. D. 1741.

The Nizam in this absolute manner disposed of the provinces of the Decan, without the concurrence of the court, and actually became king of that country, though he never assumed that title. In the mean time, the Nizam's son, Ghazi ul Dien Chan, overawed Mahummud Shaw at Delhi, and left that indolent prince no more than the mere shadow of royalty.

Whilst the Decan, that great limb of the Mogul empire, was cut off by the Nizam, Aliverdi Chan usurped the government of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. This fellow was once a common foldier, who, together with his brother Hamed, came from Tartary in quest of service to Delhi. In that city they continued for some time in the service of the famous Chan Dowran, and afterwards became menial servants to Suja Chan, nabob of Cattack. Suja Chan, after the death of Jaffier Chan, succeeded to the government of the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

The two Tartars, being possessed of good natural parts and some education, rose gradually into office, and were greatly favored by the nabob. Hodjee Hamed had, in a manner, become his prime minister; and, by his political intrigues in the Haram, obtained the place of Naib, or deputy of the province of Behar, for his brother Aliverdi, who was then a captain of horse.

Aliverdi was not long established in his high employ, when he began to tamper with the venal ministry of Delhi, for a separate commission for the province, which he then held of Suja Chan. Money, which has great influence in every country, is all powerful in Hindostan. Aliverdi strengthened his solicitations

tions with a round sum, and, by the means of Chan Dowran, A. D. 17th, became independent suba of Behar.

Suja Chan dying soon after, was succeeded in the subaship of Bengal by his son Sirfaraz Chan. We do not mean to insinuate, that he had any right of inheritance to his father's government, or that the subadary had been established in his family by any grant of the crown, which was contrary to the established laws of the empire: but the government was now so weak, that the nabobs took upon themselves to bequeath their governments to their sons, which were afterwards, through a fatal necessity, generally confirmed to them from Delhi.

Sirfaraz, being a man of a haughty and imperious disposition, soon lost the affection of all his officers. He disgraced Hodjee Hamed, and tarnished the honor of the powerful family of Jagga Seat. Hamed, however, took advantage of the general disaffection to Sirfaraz's government. He formed a conspiracy against the nabob, and invited his brother Aliverdi to invade Bengal. Aliverdi accordingly marched from Patna, in the month of Ramzan 1154, and entering Bengal, defeated and killed Sirfaraz Chan, at Geriah, near Muxadabad, and, without further opposition, became suba of the three provinces.

The weak emperor, instead of chastising the usurper with an army from Delhi, fell upon an expedient, at once disgraceful and impolitic. The Mahrattors threatened Mahummud for the Chout, which, before the Persian invasion, he had promised to pay them; and he gave them a commission to raise it themselves upon the revolted provinces. The Suu * Raja, the chief of the Mahrattors, sent accordingly an army of 50000 horse, from

* Suu, in the Sanscrita language, signifies *Glorious*.

A. D. 1742. his capital of Sattara, to invade Bengal. This force, under the conduct of Boscar Pundit, ravaged, with fire and sword, all those districts which lie to the west of the Ganges.

Aliverdi, who was a brave foldier, defended himself with great resolution. But he owed more to his villainy than to his arms. Having found means to assassinate the leader of the Mahrattors, he forced them to retreat.---When the news of this horrid murder reached the ears of the Suu Raja, he ordered two other armies into Bengal; one by the way of Behar, and another by that of Cattack. The first was commanded by Balla Raw, and the latter by Ragojee.---Aliverdi, not being able to cope with this great force in the field, had recourse to art. He sowed dissention between the two chiefs; set a private treaty on foot with Balla Raw; who, having received two years Chout, evacuated the provinces, leaving his colleague to make the best terms he could for himself. The scale was now turned against the Mahrattors. Ragojee retreated to Cattack, and, with constant incursions and flying parties, greatly harrassed the provinces. The good fortune of Aliverdi at length prevailed, and he saw himself independent sovereign of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa: though, to quiet the minds of the people, he pretended to possess grants from the court, which he himself had actually forged.

We have been purposely succinct on the manner in which the Decan and Bengal were dismembered from the empire, as the facts are already pretty well known in Europe. We return, now, to the affairs of the interior provinces. This subject has hitherto been touched by no writer, and very few Europeans in Asia have made any considerable enquiries concerning it.

During

During these transactions, nothing happened at Delhi, but the intrigues and factions of a weak and corrupt administration. In the year 1157, Ali Mahummud, a Patan of the Rohilla tribe, Zemindar of Bangur, and Awla, began to appear in arms. Ali was a foldier of fortune, and a native of the mountains of Cabulistan, who, some years before his rebellion, came to Delhi, with about three hundred followers of his own tribe, and was entertained in the service of Mahummud Shaw. Being esteemed a gallant officer, the command of a small district, upon the road between Delhi and Lahore, was conferred upon him; where he entertained all vagrants of his own clan, who came down in quest of military service, from their native mountains. In this manner Ali expended all the rents of his district, and he was hard pressed for the payment of the crown's proportion of his income, by the fogedar of Muradabad, to whom he was accountable. A. D. 1744.

Hernind, the fogedar, despairing to get any part of the revenue from Ali Mahummud, by fair means, prepared to use force. He raised 15000 of his own vassals, with a design to expel or chastise the refractory Zemindar. Ali, by the assistance of his northern friends, who lived upon him, defeated the fogedar, with great slaughter, and thus laid the foundation of the Rohilla government, now so formidable in Hindostan.

Kimmir ul Dien, the vizier, upon receiving intelligence at Delhi of this blow to the regal authority, dispatched his own son, Meer Munnu, a youth of great bravery, with an army of 30000, against the rebels. Meer Munnu, crossing the Jumna, advanced to a place called Gurmuchtisher, on the banks of the Ganges, and found that Ali Mahummud had acquired so much strength since his late victory, that he feared the issue of an engagement. A negotiation, therefore, was set on foot, and, after the

A. D. 1745. the armies had lain three months in fight of one another, a treaty was concluded. The conditions were, that Ali Mahummud should keep possession of the countries, formerly comprehended in the government of Hirnind, upon paying the ancient revenues to the crown, and that, in the mean time, one year's payment should be advanced in four months.

After this treaty was ratified, Meer Munnu returned to Delhi: but the appointed time elapsed, without any payments on the part of Ali Mahummud. He continued to strengthen himself, annexed more districts to his government, and ravaged the neighbouring countries to subsist his army. He, in short, became formidable enough to rouse the indolent Mahummud Shaw from his lethargy. That monarch took the field, with fifty or sixty thousand horse, and, in the year 1158, crossed the Jumna.

Ali Mahummud, upon the king's approach, retreated across the Ganges, and shut himself in Bangur, a place of some strength, where the imperial army invested him. The rebel, for the first two nights, made successful sallies, and killed many in the camp of Mahummud Shaw. The king, however, having drawn lines of circumvallation round the fort, after a short but bloody siege, obliged the garrison to capitulate. Ali made terms for his own life, and he was brought prisoner to Delhi, where he remained in confinement for six months.

The Patan chiefs, who were always, in private, enemies to the government of the Moguls, casting their eyes upon Ali Mahummud, as a very proper person to raise their own interest, solicited the emperor for his release. The weak monarch granted their request; but the Patans, not yet satisfied, obtained for Ali Mahummud

humud the fogedarship of Sirhind.---This was such wretched A. D. 1747.
policy in the court of Delhi, that nothing but downright infatuation, folly, and the last degree of corruption in the ministry, could ever have permitted it to take place. The consequence was, that Ali Mahumud collected his dispersed tribe, kept possession of Sirhind, of several districts between the rivers and beyond the Ganges, without remitting one roupee to court.

We have already seen, that all the provinces to the north-west of the Indus were ceded to Nadir Shaw. When that conqueror was assassinated in Persia, Achmet Abdalla, a native of Herat, who had raised himself in his service, from the office of Chobdar, or mace-bearer, to that of Chazanchi, or treasurer, found means, with the assistance of his own tribe, in the confusion which succeeded the Shaw's death, to carry off three hundred camels loaded with wealth, to the mountains of Afganiſtan. This treasure enabled Abdalla to raise an army, and to possess himself by degrees of the districts of the mountains, Herat, part of Chorassan, and all the provinces ceded by the crown of Hindostan to the king of Persia. Thus Abdalla laid the foundation of an empire, in those countries, which formerly composed the great monarchy of Ghizni.

Achmet Abdalla, perceiving the declining state of the Mogul government in Hindostan, crossed the Attock, in the beginning of the year 1160, and raising contributions upon his march, advanced towards Delhi, with 50000 horse. The poor Delhians were struck with universal panic. The king himself was sick; and there were distractions in the councils of the ministers. The pressure of the danger cemented all their differences. Ahmed Shaw, the prince royal, Kimmir ul Dien, the vizier, Seid Sul-
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A. D. 1747. Iabit Chan, and Seifdar Jung, took the field, with 80000 horse, and marched to oppose the invader.

The imperial army left Delhi upon the 18th of Siffer, and advanced to a place called Minoura, ten crores beyond Sirhind. Abdalla's army were here in fight; and both, afraid of the issue of a battle, strongly entrenched themselves. In this situation they remained for thirty days; sometimes skirmishing, and at other times negotiating; but Ahmed Shaw having no money to give, Abdalla would not retreat.

Abdalla, in the mean time, found means to advance some pieces of artillery, which bore upon the flank of the imperial army. In the evening the vizier, being at prayers, received a shot in the knee, and died that night. As he was very much esteemed by the army, which in reality he commanded, though the prince bore the name, it was proposed to Ahmed Shaw, by Meer Munnu, the vizier's son, to conceal his death, lest the troops, who depended upon his courage and capacity, should be affected by that accident. The prince, seeing the propriety of this measure, called together a few of his principal Omrahs, and held a council of war. It was resolved, that the body of the vizier should be mounted upon his own elephant, in the Howadar, supported with pillows; and that in the morning, by day-break, they should issue out of the camp and engage the enemy.

Orders were accordingly given that night to the Omrahs, to hold their troops in readiness, and their respective stations appointed to each. In the morning, before day, the imperial army was in motion; but Abdalla, having previous notice of their intentions, had prepared to receive them in his camp. The young prince Ahmed led the attack with uncommon bravery,

and was gallantly seconded by Meer Munnu, who performed surprizing feats of personal valour.---The Persian defended himself with equal resolution, for the space of three hours. At length, his entrenchments were trodden down by the elephants, and the imperial army poured into his camp. A.D. 1747.

An unfortunate circumstance, at this instant, totally changed the face of affairs. Iffur Singh, the son of Joy Singh, raja of Amere, who commanded twenty thousand horse, rode up to the vizier's elephant for orders, and discovered that he was dead. Iffur Singh was naturally a coward, and only wanted an excuse to hide his head from danger. He turned immediately his face from the field, and was followed by all his troops. The flight of so great a part of the army drew many after them, particularly Seifdar Jung, nabob of Oud. Abdalla not only recovered his troops from their confusion, but pressed hard upon the imperialists in his turn.

Meer Munnu, upon this urgent occasion, displayed all the bravery of a young hero, together with all the conduct of an old general. He formed in a column, and encouraging his troops, by words and example, bent his whole force against Abdalla's center. He, at the same time, dispatched a messenger to Iffur Singh and Seifdar Jung, assuring them that Abdalla was already defeated, and if they would return and assist him in the pursuit, he would permit none of them ever to repass the Indus. The stratagem had the desired effect. They returned in full gallop to the field, and renewed the charge with great bravery.

Abdalla, having almost assured himself of the victory, was, by this unexpected check, thrown into great confusion. Meer Munnu took immediate advantage of the enemy's consternation,

A. D. 1747. drove them off the field, and pursued them five crores beyond their camp. The loss was nearly equal on both sides; but a compleat victory remained to the Moguls; for which they were entirely indebted to the surprising efforts of Meer Munnu.

A single defeat was not enough to discourage Abdalla, who was a brave officer. He collected his discomfited army, disgraced some of his chief Omrahs, conferred their rank and honors upon others, rewarded those who had behaved well, and, with his sword drawn, riding through and through his troops, encouraged them again to action. The Moguls were not a little surprized, next morning, to see Abdalla, whom they prepared to pursue, with his army drawn up in order of battle before their camp.---This uncommon confidence in a defeated enemy, threw a damp upon the courage of the conquerors. They contented themselves with forming the line, and with standing in expectation of the charge.---Abdalla, as the prince had some advantage of ground, at the same time declined coming to action, and, in the evening, encamped at a small distance.

The second day was spent in skirmishes, and a distant cannonade: but, upon the third, to use a Persian expression, the interval of battle was closed, and the shock was very violent. Though irregular armies of horse make little impression upon a solid body of well-disciplined infantry; yet when they engage one another, upon equal terms, each trusts to the strength of his own arm, and the battle is in general extremely bloody. This irregular kind of attack, it must be allowed, requires a greater degree of personal courage, where man to man is opposed, than to stand wedged in a close battalion, where the danger may indeed be as great, but not so apparent.

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The young prince Ahmed distinguished himself in a particular manner in this action; and Meer Munnu, tenacious of the glory he had already acquired, was not to be resisted. Abdalla, after an obstinate resistance, was again driven off the field, and pursued across the Suttuluz. Here Abdalla, in spite of his misfortunes, like an able and gallant commander, put the best face upon his affairs. He had lost all his artillery and baggage, and being now less incumbered than the imperial army, he made a forced march, and, taking a circuit to the right, repassed the river, and next day, to the astonishment of the prince and Meer Munnu, was heard off eighteen crores in their rear, in full march towards Delhi.

Intelligence of Abdalla's march being received in the capital, every thing fell into the utmost confusion, and a general panic prevailed. Ghazi ul Dien, the nizam's son, being at court, collected what forces he could, and marched out of the city to oppose Abdalla. The enemy hearing of this army in their front, would proceed no further. His troops, with one voice, told Abdalla, That, before they advanced towards Delhi, it was necessary to defeat the imperial army which was behind them. He was therefore constrained to march back towards the prince and Meer Munnu, who expected a third battle: but Abdalla thought it prudent to decline it; and, by night, repassed the Moguls, and continued his rout to Lahore.

A change of affairs at the court of Delhi happening at this time, prevented the prince and Meer Munnu from pursuing Abdalla. They encamped on the banks of the Suttuluz, where Ahmed Shaw proposed to confer the subaship of Lahore upon any of his Omrahs who would undertake to recover it from Abdalla. After this offer had been declined by all of them, it

A. D. 1747. was accepted upon these terms by Meer Munnu; who, with a division of the army, marched towards Lahore, while Ahmed Shaw returned with the rest to Delhi. Mahummud Shaw had an inviolable friendship for his vizier, Kimmir ul Dien Chan. In the tottering state of the regal authority, all his confidence was reposed in that minister. When therefore the news of Kimmir's death came to him at Delhi, he immediately considered his own affairs as desperate. He retired to a private apartment, and wept bitterly all night. In the morning he mounted the throne as usual, to give public audience; and, whilst every flattering courtier was running out in praise of the deceased, the emperor seemed much affected. He, at last, exclaimed: "O cruel fate! thus to break the staff of my old age.---Where
 "now shall I find so faithful a servant?"---With these words he fell into a fit, to which he was sometimes subject, and expired sitting upon his throne.

The death of Mahummud Shaw happened upon the 8th of Ribbi ul Sani, in the 1160 year of the Higera, after a disastrous reign of thirty years. The court endeavored to conceal his death till his son prince Ahmed should arrive. He accordingly, upon the 7th day after his father's decease, entered Delhi; being sent for by express from Ghazi ul Dien Chan, who was supposed by the ignorant vulgar, who are always ready to ascribe sudden deaths to violence, to have made away with Mahummud Shaw.

MAHUMMUD SHAW was remarkably comely; of a stately stature and affable deportment. He was no small proficient in the learning of his country; and he wrote the Arabic and Persian languages with the greatest elegance and propriety. He was personally brave; but the easiness and equality of his temper made his actions appear undecisive and irresolute. Good-

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natured to a fault, he forgave, in others, crimes which his own soul would abhor to commit; and thus he permitted his authority to become a victim to an ill-judged clemency. Naturally indolent and diffident of his own abilities, his mind perpetually fluctuated from one object to another. His passions therefore took no determined course of their own; but were easily diverted into any channel, by whatever person was near him.--- "The soul of Mahummud," said a Mogul who knew him well, "was like the waters of a lake, easily agitated by any storm, but which settle immediately after the winds are laid." If his easiness or irresolution in politicks led him into many errors, he bore with indifference, if not with fortitude, the misfortunes which were their natural consequence.

Born in the sunshine of a court, brought up in the bosom of luxury, confined within the walls of a zennana, and, in a manner, educated among eunuchs, as effeminate as those whom they guard, we are not to wonder that the princes of the East should degenerate in a few generations. If to these obstructions to the exertion of the manly faculties of the soul, we add the natural lenity of Mahummud, a common but unfortunate virtue in the race of Timur, it ought not to surprize us, that in a country like India, his reign should be crowded with uncommon misfortunes. Had his fate placed Mahummud in Europe, where established laws supply the want of parts in a monarch, he might have slumbered with reputation upon a throne; and left behind him the character of a good, though not of a great, prince.

SECTION

SECTION III.

The History of the Reign of AHMED SHAW.

A. D. 1747.

UPON the 17th of Ribbi ul Sani, in the year 1160 of the Higera, AHMED SHAW, the son of Mahummud, mounted the throne of Delhi. The first act of this reign, was the appointment of Seifdar Jung, the irresolute suba of Oud, to the vizarit. This fellow was originally a merchant of Persia, known there by the name of Abul Munfur. He travelled to India to sell his commodities; and was retained there as an accomptant, by the famous Sadit Chan, governor of Oud. He behaved so much to his master's satisfaction in that station, that he advanced him to a command in the army, and conferred upon him his daughter in marriage. His alliance with Sadit so much raised his interest at the court of Delhi, that, upon the death of his father-in-law, he was raised to the subaship of Oud. Though he was a very bad soldier, such was the smoothness of his tongue and plausibility of behavior, that he passed upon the weak as a man of considerable parts; which, together with some knowledge in the finances, paved his way to the high employ of vizier. Ghazi ul Dien continued bukshi; and no other material changes in the administration happened upon the accession of Ahmed.

The war with Abdalla, which was now carried on in Punjab by Meer Munnu with various success, ingrossed the attention of the court of Delhi; for the greatest part of the imperial army was employed in that service. Advices, in the mean time, arrived from the Decan, of the death of the famous Nizam ul muluck, in the one hundred and fourth year of his age; and
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that his second son, Nafir Jung, acceded to the government. A. D. 1747.
It may not, perhaps, be out of place here, to give a short sketch of the character of the Nizam, who for a long time made so great a figure in India.

The Nizam, though no great warrior, was reckoned a consummate politician, in a country where low craft and deceit, without any principles of honor and integrity, obtain the appellation of great parts. The dark designs of his mind lay always concealed behind an uncommon plausibility and eloquence of tongue. His passions were so much under his command, that he was never known to discover any violent emotion even upon the most critical and dangerous occasions: but this apathy did not arise from fortitude, but from deep dissimulation and design. It was with him an unalterable maxim to use stratagem rather than force; and to bring about with private treachery, what even could be accomplished with open force. He so habituated himself to villainy, that the whole current of his soul ran in that channel; and it was even doubtful whether he could for a moment divert it to honesty to bring about his most favored designs. If the Nizam shewed any tendency to virtue, it was by substituting a lesser wickedness for a greater. When fraud and circumvention could accomplish his purpose, he never used the dagger or bowl. To sum up his character in a few words; without shame, he was perfidious to all mankind; without remorse, a traitor to his king and country; and, without terror, a hypocrite in the presence of his god. *

* Nafir Jung, the nizam's son, having rebelled, was at the head of a great army. The deceitful old man counterfeited sickness so well, and wrote such pathetic letters to Nafir, requesting to see him before he died, that the young fellow was taken in the snare, visited his father, and was imprisoned.

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A. D. 1748. When the news of Nizam ul muluck's death came to Delhi, Ghazi ul Dien, who was his eldest son, applied to the king for his subaship. But Nasir Jung, being possessed of his father's treasure, raised a great army, and marched from Aurungabad towards Delhi; not on pretence of war, but to pay his respects to the emperor. Ahmed dreaded nothing more than this ceremonious visit from a man at the head of so great a force. He judged that Nasir Jung, under that specious pretext, covered a design to extort from him a confirmation of the subadary of the Decan. He therefore durst not favor the pretensions of Ghazi to the provinces of the Decan, and consequently was reduced to the necessity of confirming Nasir Jung in his usurpation. Thus the storm was diverted, and the new Nizam returned to Aurungabad.

In the year 1161, Caim Chan Bunguish, jagierdâr of Ferochabad, having differed with Ali Mahummud, a neighbouring Zemindar, they both drew out their vassals and dependents, and fought about ten crores above Ferochabad, and Caim Chan was defeated and slain. Seifdar Jung, the vizier, being informed of these transactions, sent orders to Raja Nevil Roy, his deputy in the province of Oud, to confiscate the estate of Caim Chan. The deputy rigorously executed the vizier's orders. He seized upon Caim Chan's five sons, together with five of his adopted slaves, confined, and afterwards assassinated them at Allahabad. Ahmed Chan, another son of Caim Chan, remained still alive; and, in order to revenge the death of his brothers, raised the Patan tribe, of which he was now acknowledged chief, and marched against Nevil Roy, who had collected all his forces to oppose him.

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In the beginning of the year 1162, the two armies met at a place near Lucknow, called Callinuddi. The Patans were scarcely four thousand strong; but the army of the deputy of Oud consisted of at least twenty thousand. The Patan chief, inspired by revenge, and vigorously supported by his friends, attacked in person Nevil Roy in the very center of his army, and slew his enemy with his own hand. The army of Nevil Roy, seeing him fall, immediately quitted the field. Their artillery and baggage, and soon after almost the whole province of Oud, fell into the victor's hands. A. D. 1748.

When the news of this disaster arrived at Delhi, Seifdar Jung, the vizier, talked in a very high strain, and requested of the emperor, that he might be permitted to lead an army against Ahmed Chan. The sultan consented; but the season being far spent before the army was levied, the expedition was deferred till the solstitial rains should be over. In the month of Mohirrim, 1163, the vizier, with an army of eighty thousand men, marched from Delhi; and, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, put all the Patans he could find to the sword. Ahmed Chan was not intimidated by this great force. With scarce twelve thousand men he marched from Ferochabad, and met the imperialists at Shuru Sahawir, near that city.

The day happened to be very windy, and Ahmed improved that circumstance to his own advantage. He wheeled to windward, and the dust flew in such clouds in the face of the imperial army, that they did not discover the motions of Ahmed; but ascribed the darkness which involved themselves to the effects of a whirlwind, common at that season of the year. The enemy, however, like a thunderbolt, issued from the bosom of this storm, and at once struck the Moguls with terror and dismay.

A. D. 1749. The Patans made such good use of their swords, that they soon covered the field with dead; and the cowardly Seifdar Jung, without making one effort, was the first of his army who fled. The Jates and Rohillas, though thus shamefully deserted by their general, made head against Ahmed Chan, and found means to carry off the greatest part of the artillery, which consisted of twelve hundred pieces of various bores. But neither of those tribes returned the guns to the king: they carried them to their own forts, to strengthen themselves against his authority.

This overthrow was a dreadful stroke to the tottering empire. The greatest part of the province of Oud was lost; the Jates, a numerous tribe of Hindoos, who possessed a large territory near Agra; and the Rohillas, a Patan nation, who inhabited the greatest part of the country between Delhi and Lucknow, seeing the whole imperial force baffled by a petty chief, began to throw off their allegiance. Seifdar Jung, in the mean time, arrived with a small part of his army at Delhi; and Ghazi Chan advised the king to put him to death for the disgrace which he had drawn upon his arms. This punishment would not have been too severe for the vizier's bad behaviour: but that minister had strengthened his interest by a coalition with Juneid Chan, the chief eunuch.

The queen-mother, Begum Kudfia, being a woman of gallantry, had, for want of a better lover, fixed her affection upon the chief eunuch. She had the address to direct the weak monarch in every thing, and to keep him in leading-strings upon the throne. Juneid Chan, though in no public employ, by means of Kudfia's favor, held the helm of government; and, by his influence, not only saved the vizier's life, but continued him in his office.

In the course of the same year, a treaty was concluded with the Mahrattors, who were spreading their devastations over the southern provinces. The Chout was stipulated to be regularly paid by the empire to those troublesome barbarians. Ahmed Shaw ordered an army to be levied, to recover the province of Oud; and it was soon compleated by the accession of forty thousand Mahrattors, who enlisted themselves in the imperial service. But instead of putting himself at the head of his forces, the weak emperor, by the advice of his mother and her gallant, gave the command of it to his vizier, that he might have an opportunity to retrieve his lost honour. A. D. 1750.

Raja Sourage Mull, prince of the Jates, by the acquisition of the Mahrattors to the imperial army, judged it prudent once more to join the vizier with all his forces; so that the minister's army now consisted of no less than one hundred thousand men. Seifdar Jung marched from Delhi, in the year 1164, against Ahmed Chan: but the Raja of the Jates, instead of aiding him, found means to frustrate all his designs. Having spent a whole campaign without coming to action, he patched up a very dishonorable peace, and returned to Delhi with the Mahrattor mercenaries at his heels, mutinous for want of their pay.

The demand of the Mahrattors amounted to fifty lacks of roupees, which the government was in no condition to pay: and the sum gradually increased with the delay. Ghazi ul Dien, who had been for some time soliciting for a royal commission for the subaship of the Decan, promised to pay off the Mahrattor debt, upon condition he should receive from the emperor that appointment. Ahmed Shaw was glad upon any terms to get rid of those clamorous and dangerous mercenaries, and accordingly issued out the imperial funnuds to Ghazi. That Omrah having

A. D. 1751. satisfied the Mahrattors in their demands upon Ahmed, engaged them immediately in his own service ; and having added to them a great army of other troops, obtained his own office of buckshi for his son Ghazi, a youth of fifteen years of age, and marched towards the Decan.

The elder Ghazi's brother, Nasir Jung, suba of the Decan, and his son Muziffer, who had succeeded him in the government, were both dead. Sillabut Jung, the third son of the old Nizam, now sat upon the Musnud, which Ghazi claimed by the right of primogeniture. In the month of Zehidge, 1165, he, with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, arrived in the environs of Aurungabad. The forces of his brother, Sillabut Jung, the reigning suba, were somewhat inferior in number, but they were strengthened by a body of French mercenaries, which, in all probability, would insure to him the victory. Sillabut Jung, however, was afraid of the issue of a general battle ; and, after some slight skirmishes, he found means to prevail with his uncle's wife to take off his competitor with poison. Thus did the perfidious Sillabut Jung secure to himself the empire of the Decan, without a rival.

But to return to the transactions of the court of Delhi : Seifdar Jung, the vizier, finding that his own influence declined, and that Juneid Chan, the favorite eunuch, carried all before him, invited him to an entertainment, and, contrary to the laws of hospitality, and altogether forgetful that he owed to Juneid his own life and fortune, assassinated him by the hands of Ishmaiel Chan, one of his adopted slaves. Ahmed Shaw, being informed of this presumptuous villainy, flew into a violent rage, degraded Seifdar Jung from the vizarit, and banished him the court. This was the effect of a fit of passion ; for the unfortunate king was
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in no condition, in fact, to exert so far his authority. The perfidious vizier, finding that he had nothing to hope from submission, broke out into open rebellion. He soon after, by the assistance of the Jates, advanced to Delhi, and besieged Ahmed Shaw and young Ghazi, the buckshi, in that city. A. D. 1751.

The son of Kimmir ul Dien, who, in the reign of Mahummud, held so long the vizarit, was raised, under the title of Chan Chanan, to the vacant employ of Seifdar Jung, and began to shew some abilities in his new office. Young Ghazi, who was a youth of extraordinary parts, defended the city with great resolution for three months. The rebels were at last so dispirited, that Ghazi ventured to attack them in the field, and gained a complete victory. Seifdar Jung fled towards his former subaship of Oud, and left his allies, the Jates, under Raja Sourage Mull, to extricate themselves from the perilous situation to which he had brought them.

The rebellion of Seifdar happened in the year 1166. The Jates being deserted by him, were in no condition to keep the field against Ghazi. They fled before the imperial army under Akebut Chan, to their own territories near Agra. That general invested the strong fortrefs of Billemgur, which he took by capitulation; but so little did he regard his plighted faith to the garrison, that he put them all to the sword. The Jates, in the mean time, came before the imperial army; but diffident of their own strength in the field, they separated their forces, and shut themselves up in their forts. The imperial general also divided his army into detachments, and laid at once siege to the two strong forts of Dieg and Combere, lying in the territory between Agra and Delhi.

Ghazi:

A. D. 1752.

Ghazi ul Dien, in the mean time, to carry on more effectually the war against the Jates, obtained permission from the emperor, to call in forty thousand Mahrattors, under their two chiefs, Jeiapa Malhar Raw, and Raganut Raw. By this acquisition of strength, the imperialists were enabled to carry on the sieges with vigor. At Delhi, young Ghazi and the new vizier contended for the command of the army. This contest was afterwards fatal in its consequences; but for the present Ghazi ul Dien prevailed. He marched with a reinforcement from Delhi; and, upon his arrival in the country of the Jates, took the command of the imperial army.

The sieges continued two months after the arrival of Ghazi, and the garrisons were reduced to the last extremities. The imperialists, in the mean time, had expended all their ammunition; and Ghazi was, upon that account, obliged to dispatch Akebut Mahmood to Delhi, with a good force, to bring him the necessary stores. The vizier seeing that the strong holds of the Jates must soon fall into the hands of Ghazi, should he be supplied with ammunition, and being extremely jealous of any thing that might throw honor upon his rival, poisoned the mind of the weak king against his buckshi, by means of forged letters and villainous insinuations, that the young Omrah aspired to the throne. The enterprising genius, and great abilities of Ghazi, gave some color to suspicions of that kind; and the unfortunate Ahmed, instead of promoting his own cause against the Jates, took every measure to prevent the success of Ghazi.

The king accordingly began to levy forces in Delhi, and wrote a letter to Raja Sourage Mull, the chief of the Jates, to make an obstinate defence, and that he himself would soon relieve him: that, under pretence of joining the army under Ghazi, he would
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attack that general in the rear, and at the same time display a signal to the Raja, to sally from the fort of Combere.---Thus the king, as if infatuated by his evil genius, planned his own ruin. His letter fell into the hands of Ghazi, whose friends at court had informed him of the intrigues of the vizier. Struck with the king's ingratitude, and urged on by self-defence, he immediately resolved upon open hostility. He raised the sieges, and crossed the Jumna, to oppose Ahmed Shaw and his vizier, who were marching down between the rivers. A. D. 1752.

The king, hearing of Ghazi's approach, halted at Secundra, and endeavoured, by fair promises, to bring back that Omrah to his duty. Ghazi, in answer to the king's message, returned to him his own letter to Raja Sourage Mull. He wrote him, at the same time, that "he could place no confidence in a man, " who plotted against his life, for no crime; if to serve the state " was not one. What mercy," continued Ghazi, " can I expect from Ahmed, in the days of rebellion, when he treated " me as a traitor, in the days of loyalty and friendship? A prince, " that is weak enough to listen to the base insinuations of every " sycophant, is unworthy to rule over brave men; who, by the " laws of God and nature, are justified to use the power which " providence has placed in their hands, to protect themselves " from injustice."

The king perceived, by the strain of this letter, that Ghazi was resolved to push him to the last extremity. He, however, durst not engage him in the field. He made the best of his way to Delhi, and was so closely pursued by Ghazi, that that Omrah possessed himself of one of the gates; upon which Ahmed Shaw and the vizier shut themselves up, with a small party, in the citadel. Ghazi immediately invested the place; and the king,

A. D. 1753. king, after a faint resistance, surrendered himself. Ghazi, after reproaching him for his intentions against his life, committed him and the vizier to the charge of Akebut Mahmood. The unfortunate sultan was deprived of sight, the next day, by the means of an hot iron. It is said, by some, that this was done by Akebut Mahmood, without orders, to shew his zeal for the service of his patron; but, from the general character of Ghazi, we have no reason to doubt his being concerned in this crime.

Thus ended the reign of the unfortunate Ahmed Shaw: a prince, who, in his first exploits, appeared with some lustre. When he mounted the throne, as if action degraded royalty, he altogether gave himself up to indolence. To save the trouble of thinking, he became the dupe of every specious flatterer, and at last fell the unlamented victim of his own folly. He possessed all the clemency of the house of Timur; but that virtue was now, in some measure, a vice, in a country so corrupt, and in an age so degenerate. Though Ahmed was not defective in personal courage, he may truly be said to be a coward in mind: dangers appeared formidable to him, through a troubled imagination, which, upon trial, he had fortitude to surmount.---He sat upon the throne of Delhi seven lunar years and one month; and was deposed in the month of Jemmad ul awil, in the 1167 of the Higera.

The power and extent of the empire were very much diminished in the reign of Ahmed Shaw. All the provinces, except those between the frontiers of the Jates, a few miles to the east of Delhi, and Lahore to the west, were, in fact, dismembered from the government of the house of Timur, though they paid a nominal allegiance. The rich kingdom of Guzerat was divided between the Mahrattors and a Patan tribe, called Babbé; the

Decan

Decan was usurped by the Nizam ul muluck's family; Bengal, A. D. 1753. Behar, and Orissa, by Aliverdi Chan, and his successors; Oud, by Seifdar Jung; Doab, by Ahmed Chan Bunguish; Allahabad, by Mahummud Kuli; and the countries round Agra, by Raja Sourage Mull, the chief of the Jates.---Budaoon, and all the provinces to the north of Delhi, were in the hands of Mahummud Ali, Sadulla Chan, and other chiefs of the Rohilla tribe of Patans. A number of petty Rajas started up into independent princes in Malava: Bucht Singh seized upon the extensive territory of Marwâr, and Madoo Singh reigned in the provinces round Joinagur and Amere.

The gallant Meer Munnu still opposed the torrent of invasion from the north. He maintained the war with success, against Abdalla, for the provinces of Moulton and Punjab, and, for a short space of time, supported the declining empire. Every petty chief, in the mean time, by counterfeited grants from Delhi, laid claim to jagiers and to districts: the country was torn to pieces by civil wars, and groaned under every species of domestic confusion. Villainy was practised in every form; all law and religion were trodden under foot; the bands of private friendships and connections, as well as of society and government, were broken; and every individual, as if amidst a forest of wild beasts, could rely upon nothing but the strength of his own arm.

SECTION IV.

The History of the Reign of ALLUMGIRE SANI.

A. D. 1753.

UPON the same day that Ahmed Shaw was deprived of fight, Ghazi ul Dien released from confinement Eaz ul Dien, the son of Moaz ul Dien, and grandson of Bahadar Shaw, the son and successor of the famous Aurungzebe. This prince was placed by Ghazi upon the throne, by the name of ALLUMGIRE. To begin his reign with an act of beneficence, he ordered seventeen persons of the imperial house of Timur to be released from prison, to grace his coronation. It may not be improper here to say something concerning the inauguration of the Mogul emperors.

When a prince is, for the first time, seated upon the throne, with the royal umbrella over his head, the Omrahs, according to their dignity, are ranged in two lines before, one upon his right, the other to his left hand. A herald then proclaims his titles; and the Omrahs, each in his station, advance with an offering in gold, which he himself receives from their hands. The superintendant of the kitchen brings then a golden salver, with bread, confections, and other eatables, over which the king, joined by the whole court, repeats a form of grace; and then he eats a little, and distributes the remainder, with his own hand, among the nobility. This latter is an ancient Mogul ceremony, introduced by the family of Timur. The emperor mounts then his state-elephant, and, attended by all the court, moves slowly towards the great Musgid, throwing, as he advances, gold, silver, precious stones, and pearls, among the populace. In the Musgid he repeats a prayer, and afterwards divine service is performed by

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the Sidder ul suddûr, or the metropolitan of Delhi. The Chutba, A. D. 1753. or the genealogy and titles of the king, are then read, and he returns to the palace with the same magnificence and pomp. The Mogul emperors are never crowned: but upon some festivals they sit in state, under a large golden crown, which is suspended by a chain to the roof of the presence-chamber, and serves the purpose of a canopy.

Allumgire found himself as much a prisoner upon the throne, as he was formerly in his confinement. He was not a man of parts sufficient to extricate himself from the toils of that power, to which he owed his advancement; but had he made no efforts to acquire some authority, the empire might have been, perhaps, restored to its original dignity and splendor, by the very extraordinary abilities of Ghazi ul Dien.---That Omrah now possessed the office of the vizarî. Allumgire, without the capacity of guiding the operations of government himself, began to turn all his mean parts to thwart the schemes of the vizier. Without considering whether the measure was right or wrong, it was sufficient that it came from the vizier, for the emperor to oppose it by his minions.

This aversion in the king to Ghazi, did not long escape the penetrating eyes of that young Omrah. He knew that he was surrounded by many enemies, and therefore was unwilling to resign an employ, from which he derived protection to his own person. In the mean time all business was suspended, and the two factions, like armies afraid of the issue of a battle, watched the motions of one another.---Nothing remarkable happened at Delhi, during the first year of Allumgire, but the assassination of the former vizier, about six months after his imprisonment, by the orders of Ghazi ul Dien.

A. D. 1754.

But, in the course of this year, the empire received a severe blow on its frontiers, by the death of the gallant Meer Munnu, by a fall from his horse. He had, in many engagements, defeated Abdalla, and recovered from him the whole province of Lahore. No sooner was this brave Omrah dead, than Abdalla reconquered all he had lost; and, advancing to Lahore, confirmed his son, then an infant, in the government of that place, under the direction of an experienced Omrah.

The great success of Abdalla, in the north-west, began to rouse the court of Delhi. It was at last resolved, that Ali Gohar*, Allumgire's eldest son, should, in conjunction with Ghazi ul Dien, the vizier, march with the imperial army against the Persians. The treasury was now empty; and the few provinces, subject to the empire, were grievously oppressed for money to raise a force for this expedition.

In the beginning of the year 1169, the imperial army, consisting of 80000 men, under the prince and young Ghazi, took the field. They advanced to a place called Matchiwarra, about twenty crores beyond Sirhind. They found Abdalla so well established in his new conquests, that they thought it prudent to proceed no further. The whole campaign passed in settling a treaty of marriage, between the vizier and the daughter of Meer Munnu. It seems that Omrah, to strengthen his interest at the court of Delhi, had, before his death, promised his daughter to Ghazi; but, after that event, both the young lady and her mother were extremely averse to the match. When the imperial army lay at Matchiwarra, the vizier inveigled both the ladies from Lahore to the camp, and finding all intreaty was in vain to obtain their consent, he, with peculiar baseness, closely confined them, to intimidate them into a compliance. This together with op-

* The present emperor.

pressing

pressing the provinces, through which he marched, comprehended the whole exploits of Ghazi on this expedition. After spending all the public money in this vain parade, the prince and vizier, without striking a blow, returned to Delhi. A. D. 1755-

The cause of this inaction of the vizier proceeded from advices which he daily received from court. The king and his faction gained strength during his absence; and he foresaw his own ruin, in case he should meet with a defeat from Abdalla. Upon his return to Delhi, he found it necessary, in order to support his declining authority, to act with great rigor and tyranny. Some Omrahs he removed with the dagger, and others he deprived of their estates. He confined the king in the citadel, and did whatsoever he pleased, as if he himself was vested with the regal dignity.

Allumgire, finding himself in this disagreeable situation, adopted a very dangerous plan to extricate himself. He wrote privately to Abdalla, to advance with his army, to relieve him from the hands of his treacherous vizier. He promised, that upon his arrival on the environs of Delhi, he should be joined by the bulk of the imperial army, under the command of Nigib ul Dowla, a Rohilla chief, to whom Ghazi had delegated his own office of buckshi, when he rose to the employ of vizier. Thus the weak Allumgire, to avoid one evil, plunged headlong into greater misfortunes.

Abdalla, having received these assurances from the king, marched from Cabul, where he then kept his court, entered Hindostan with a great army, and, in the year 1171, appeared before Delhi. The vizier marched out with the imperial forces to give him battle; but, in the field he was deserted by his friend,

A. D. 1757.

friend, Nigib ul Dowla, with the greatest part of his army. The ignorance of Ghazi ul Dien of a plot so long carried on, is a great proof of his extreme unpopularity. The consequence was, that Ghazi was obliged to throw himself upon the clemency of Abdalla, who had sworn vengeance against him, should he ever fall into his hands. But such was the address of the vizier, that he not only found means to mollify the Persian, but even to make him his friend. He was, however, at first turned out of his office, but he was soon after restored by Abdalla himself, who now disposed of every thing, as if he was absolute king of Delhi.

Abdalla entered the city, and laid the unfortunate inhabitants under a contribution of a crore of roupees; a sum now more difficult to raise than ten crores, in the days of Nadir Shaw. The Persian remained two months in Delhi. The unhappy Allumgire, not only found that his capital was robbed, but that he himself was delivered over again into the hands of a person, who had now added resentment to ambition and power.

The Persian, after these transactions, took the prince, Hedad Buxsh, brother to the present emperor, as hostage for Allumgire's future behavior; and, having forced Meer Munnu's daughter to solemnize her marriage with Ghazi, marched towards Agra. He, on his way, laid siege to Muttra, took it by assault; and, having sacked the place, put the inhabitants to the sword, for the enormous crime of attempting to defend their lives and property. After this scene of barbarity, Abdalla advanced to Agra, which was held on the part of the king * by Fazil Chan. This Omrah defended the city with such resolution, that Abdalla,

* Though the Jates had all the country round Agra, they had not yet possessed themselves of that city.

after

after sustaining some loss, thought it prudent to raise the siege ; A. D. 1757. but, being exasperated at this repulse, he spread death and devastation through the territories of the Jates, who, unable to cope with him in the field, had retired into their strong holds ; from which, they at times issued, and cut off his straggling parties.---The Persian returned to a place called Muxadabad, about eight crores from Delhi. Allumgire came out to pay his respects to him ; and, by his conduct, seems to have been perfectly infatuated. When the cries of his distressed people reached heaven, that contemptible monarch, instead of endeavoring to alleviate their miseries, either by force or negotiation, was wholly bent on the gratification of a sensual appetite. The cause of his visit to Abdalla, was to obtain his influence and mediation with Sahibe Zimany, the daughter of Mahummud Shaw, whom he wanted to espouse ; the princess herself being averse to the match. When kings, instead of exerting their talents for the protection of their people, suffer themselves to be absorbed in indolence and sensuality, rebellion becomes patriotism, and treason itself is a virtue.

In the mean time, the news of some incursions from the western Persia, into the territories of Abdalla, recalled that prince from India. Malleké Jehan, the widow of Mahummud Shaw, and her daughter Sahibe Zimany, claimed his protection against Allumgire. He carried them both to Cabul, and some time after espoused the daughter himself.---The Persian having evacuated the imperial provinces, the vizier became more cruel and oppressive than ever : he extorted money from the poor by tortures, and confiscated the estates of the nobility, upon false or very frivolous pretences. To these tyrannies he was no less driven by the necessity of supporting an army to enforce his authority, than he was by the natural avidity and cruelty of his own unprincipled mind.

The

A. D. 1758.

The king and his eldest son, Ali Gohar, were, in the mean time, kept state prisoners. The latter made his escape in the year 1172, and levying six thousand men at Rowari, began to raise the revenues of the adjacent territories. After he had continued this vagrant kind of life for nine months, the vizier, by the means of insidious letters, in which Ittul Raw, chief of the Mahrattors, Raja Dewali Singh, Raja Nagor Mull, and many other Omrahs, swore to protect him, inveigled him to Delhi. But, in violation of all oaths and fair promises, he was instantly confined by Ghazi, in the house of Alla Murda Chan, where he remained for the space of two months.

The vizier having received intelligence that the prince was privately attaching some Omrahs to his interest, and fearing that, by their means, he might again make his escape, determined to remove him to the citadel. He ordered a detachment of five hundred horse to execute this service. The prince not only refused to comply with the vizier's orders for his removal, but ordered the gates of the house to be shut, and, with a few friends, betook himself to arms. The houses of the nobility in Hindostan are surrounded by strong walls; and, in fact, are a kind of small forts. The vizier's troops found it therefore extremely difficult to reduce the prince. He was besieged closely for two days; and, finding that he could not defend himself much longer from the thousands that surrounded the house, he formed the gallant resolution to cut his way through the enemy.

He imparted his intentions to his friends, but they shrunk from his proposal as impracticable. At last, six of them, seeing him resolved to attempt this desperate undertaking alone, promised to accompany him. On the morning of the third day, they

they mounted their horses within the court. The gate was suddenly thrown open, and they issued forth sword in hand, with the prince at their head. He cut his way through thousands of Ghazi's troops, with only the loss of one of his gallant followers. Raja Ramnat, and Seid Ali, were the two principal men concerned in this extraordinary exploit; the other four being common horsemen. Seid Ali was wounded, but four and the prince escaped without any hurt. A. D. 1758.

The prince having thus forced his way through the vizier's army, issued out of the city, and arrived at a place, called Vizierabad, about six crores from the suburbs. Ittul Raw, the Mahrattor chief, lay encamped with ten thousand horse at Vizierabad. Ittul had been hired as a mercenary by the vizier, to support him in his tyrannical proceedings: but resenting Ghazi's breach of promise to the prince, and not being regularly paid, he now thought of plundering the country under the sanction of Ali Gohar's name. He received him, therefore, with very great respect, and promised to support him.

The prince, and Ittul Raw, accordingly continued, for the space of six months, to raise contributions on the provinces to the south of Delhi: but as the petty chiefs of villages had, during the confusions of the empire, constructed mud forts, whither they retired with their families and effects, at the approach of danger, the Mahrattors found great difficulty in supporting themselves, as none of those forts could be reduced without a regular siege, in which they were very little skilled. Ittul Raw, tired of this kind of unprofitable war, proposed to the prince to retire to Gualiêr, where the Mahrattors had now established a government, promising to give him a tract of country for his maintenance.

A. D. 1759. Ali Gohar thanked the Mahrattor for his generous propofal, but declined to accept of it.

His eyes were now turned to another quarter. Nigib ul Dowla, who had, at the king's request, betrayed Ghazi ul Dien to Abdalla, was, upon the reinstatement of the vizier in his office, obliged to fly to his jagier of Secundra, between the rivers, about forty crores below Delhi. The prince looked upon him as the most proper person to conduct his affairs. He accordingly took leave of Ittul Raw, crossed the Jumna, arrived at Secundra, and was received with great respect by Nigib ul Dowla, who, however, did not think proper to join heartily in his cause.

To return to the tranfactions at Delhi: Ahmet Abdalla had no fooner fettled his affairs, than he prepared for another expedition into Hindoftan. He refolved to fupport his army with the plunder of that country, and to keep them in action there for other enterprizes more arduous. He accordingly marched from Candahar, and, in the month of Ribbi ul awil, 1174, arrived in the environs of Delhi. The unhappy Allumgire applied to him for relief; and, if poffible, exaggerated his own misfortunes, and the unheard-of villainies of his vizier. He, at the fame time, by his emiffaries, stirred up factions in the army of Ghazi, who had marched out of the city to give battle to Abdalla. The difcerning mind of that minifter foon penetrated into the king's machinations againft him. He did not for a moment hesitate what to do; his hands had already been imbrued in blood, and he ftarted not at murder. He refolved to take off the king, and then to let future events direct his line of action.

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Though the king was in some measure a prisoner, he was permitted to keep his guards and a great retinue of servants. They pitied his misfortunes, and became firmly attached to his interest. Abdalla, who was near with his army, seemed to give some encouragement to Allumgire, and that prince's party acquired strength every day. The vizier saw himself hemmed in upon all sides by enemies; he, therefore, thought it high time to assassinate his master.---He knew the weakness and superstition of the mind of Allumgire. He, therefore, trumped up a story concerning a Fakier, who prophesied and wrought miracles at the Kottulah of Feroze Shaw. The poor enthusiastic king, just as Ghazi expected, expressed a great desire to see the holy Fakier. As it would derogate from the reputation of the pretended saint, to pay a visit, even to a king; Allumgire resolved to confer upon him that piece of respect.---But he had no sooner entered the apartment where the holy impostor sat, than two assassins started from behind a curtain, cut off his head with a scimiter, and threw his body, out of a back window, upon the sands of the Jumna. It lay there two days without interment; none daring to pay the last office to the remains of their unfortunate king. This tragedy was acted at Delhi, in the month of Ribbi ul Sani, 1174.

Such was the end of Allumgire, who, in an age of peace and tranquillity, might have lived with some reputation, and have died with the character of a saint. But the times required uncommon abilities in a king, and the most vigorous exertion of the manly faculties of the soul; neither of which that unhappy monarch in any degree possessed. His struggles, therefore, against the ambition of Ghazi, were puerile and impotent. Had he employed the assassin against the breast of that treacherous minister, justice would have warranted the blow; had he possessed

A.D. 1760. courage to have aimed it with his own hand, a thousand opportunities were not wanting. What then can be said in favor of a man, who durst not make one manly effort for his authority, or resent indignities which he daily received in person?

The perfidious vizier ordered the body of the king, after lying two days exposed on the sand of the Jumna, to be privately interred. He then took another prince of the blood, and placed him upon the throne, by the name of Shaw Jehan.

SECTION V.

Transactions at the Court of Delhi, from the Death of ALLUMGIRE SANI, to the present Times.

NIGIB UL DOWLA, who had, some time before the A. D. 1761, assassination of Allumgire, made up matters with the vizier, had the address to retain the office of buckshi. Shocked at the villainy of Ghazi, or desirous to transfer to himself the whole power, he again betrayed that minister, and went over with all his forces to Abdalla. Ghazi, in consequence of this desertion, found himself obliged also to make peace with the invader.

These factions proved fatal to the unhappy Delhians. Abdalla laid the city under heavy contributions, and enforced the collection with such rigor and cruelty, that the unfortunate inhabitants, driven to despair, took up arms. The Persian ordered a general massacre, which, without intermission, lasted for seven days. The relentless Durannies * were not even then glutted with slaughter, but the stench of the dead bodies drove them out of the city. A great part of the buildings were, at the same time, reduced to ashes, and many thousands, who had escaped the sword, suffered a lingering death by famine, sitting upon the smoking ruins of their own houses. Thus the imperial city of Delhi, which, in the days of its glory, extended itself seventeen crores in length, and was said to contain two millions of people, became almost a heap of rubbish.

* The tribe, of which Abdalla is the chief, are distinguished by that name.

A. D. 1761.

The miseries of the unfortunate Delhians were not yet at an end. The Mahrattors, who now, without intermission, traversed the empire for plunder, advanced to partake of the spoils of Delhi with Abdalla. Jincow and Malharraw, accordingly, occupied the environs of the city. The Persian marched out against them, and both armies joined battle at a place called Mudgenu Tuckia, two crores from the depopulated capital. The Mahrattors were defeated, and pursued one hundred and fifty crores from the field: but they, in the mean time, gave Abdalla the slip, turned his rear, and set out in full march for Delhi. The Durannies, however, were so close to their heels, that, before they could attempt any thing against the city, they were a second time obliged to retreat.

In the mean time news arrived, that the Mahrattor chiefs were advancing with another very numerous army from the Decan, with a professed design to re-establish the ancient Hindoo government. Bisswas Raw, Baow, and Ibrahim Chan Ghardi, commanded this force, which, independent of the army of Mahrattors, whom Abdalla had already defeated, consisted of one hundred thousand horse. The Mahommedans were struck with terror; they thought it necessary to join Abdalla, to support the faith: Suja ul Dowlat, who had succeeded his father, the infamous Seifdar Jung, in the province of Oud, Ahmed Chan Bunguish, chief of the Patans and all the petty chieftains of the Rohillas, hastened with their forces to Delhi.

The Mahrattors had now entered the territories of the Jates, and summoned Raja Sourage Mull to join them. Though Sourage Mull, as a Hindoo, wished for the extirpation of Mahommedism in India, he was too jealous of the power of the Mahrattors, to obey their orders. Enraged at his obstinacy,
 4 they

they carried fire and sword through his dominions, and compelled him at last to join them with fifty thousand men. A. D. 1761.

The Mahrattors now consisted of two hundred thousand horse, and the Mahommedans, whom Ahmet Abdalla commanded in chief, of near one hundred and fifty thousand. The eyes of all India were now turned towards the event of a war, upon which depended, whether the supreme power should remain with the Mahommedans, or revert again to the Hindoos. Upon the approach of the Mahrattors, Abdalla evacuated Delhi, and, having crossed the Jumna, encamped on the opposite bank.

The Mahrattors immediately entered the city, and filled every quarter of it with devastation and death. Not content with robbing the miserable remains of Abdalla's cruelty of every thing they possessed, they stripped all the males and females quite naked, and wantonly whipped them before them along the streets. Many now prayed for death, as the greatest blessing, and thanked the hand which inflicted the wound.---Famine begun to rage among the unfortunate citizens to such a degree, that men fled from their dearest friends, as from beasts of prey, for fear of being devoured. Many women devoured their own children, while some mothers, of more humanity, were seen dead in the streets, with infants still sucking at their breasts.---But let us now draw a veil over this scene of horror.

Ghazi ul Dien found, by this time, that Abdalla was become his enemy, and inclined to the interests of Nigib ul Dowla. He therefore endeavoured to make up matters with the Mahrattors, but his proposals were rejected. He then turned himself to the Raja of the Jates, who was in the field an unwilling auxiliary to the Mahrattors, and persuaded him to desert their cause, and retire

A. D. 1761. retire to his own country, whither he himself accompanied him. Thus ended the public transactions of Ghazi ul Dien, who crowded into a few years of early youth more crimes and abilities, than other consummate villains have done into a long life of wickedness and treachery. Though he did not possess the Decan, the fruits of his grandfather's uncommon crimes, he may truly be said to have been the genuine heir of the parts and treasons of that monster of iniquity and villainy.

The Mahrattors, when they entered Delhi, confined Shaw Jehan, who had borne the title of royalty for a few weeks; and, to quiet the minds of some Mahomedan omrahs, who aided them, raised to the throne Jewan Bucht, the eldest son of prince Ali Gohar, who had by this time assumed the title of Shaw Allum in Behar. But this young prince, had he even abilities to reign, had now no subjects left to command; for he may be considered as the image of a king, set up by way of insult in the midst of the ruins of his capital.

Abdalla being informed of the desertion of the Jates, was extremely desirous of repassing the Jumna, and to come to battle with the Mahrattors. He, for this purpose, marched up along the bank opposite to the enemy, to Kungipurra, a place of some strength, possessed by Nizabat Chan, an independent Rohilla chief. The Persian summoned him to surrender, which he refused, and the place was consequently taken by assault, and the garrison and inhabitants put to the sword.---The Mahrattors, at the same time, marched up upon the side of Delhi, and, too confident of their own strength, permitted Abdalla, without opposition, to cross the Jumna, by the ford of Ramra: but observing him more bold in his motions than they expected, they became somewhat afraid, and intrenched themselves at
5 Karnâl,

Karnâl, in the very same ground which was occupied formerly by Mahummud Shaw, while Abdalla chose the more fortunate situation of Nadir Shaw. A. D. 1761.

Both armîes lay in their entrenchments, for twelve days, skirmishing at times with small parties. Abdalla, in the mean time, found means to cut off some Mahrattor convoys, with provisions, and, by the vigilance and activity of his Durannies, to prevent all supplies from coming to the enemy's camp.---As famine began to rage among the Mahrattors, they were necessitated to march out of their lines, upon the 20th of Jemmad ul Sani, 1174, and to offer battle to Abdalla, which he immediately accepted. The first shock was extremely violent: the Mahrattors advanced with great resolution, and charged Abdalla sword in hand with such vigor, that he was upon the point of being driven off the field, when Suja ul Dowlat, well known to the British in India, and Ahmed Chan Bunguish, the Patan chief of Doab, fell upon the flank of the Mahrattors, with ten thousand horse.---This circumstance immediately turned the scale of victory. Abdalla recovered from his confusion, renewed the charge, and drove back the enemy. Should we credit common report, fifty thousand Mahrattors fell in this action, and in the pursuit: but be that as it will, the battle was extremely bloody, for all the generals of the vanquished, excepting Malhar Raw, who fled upon the first charge, were slain.

Abdalla, after having pursued the Mahrattors for the space of three days, returned to Delhi. He wrote from thence letters to prince Ali Gohar, who had proclaimed himself king in the province of Behar, under the title of Shaw Allum, requesting him to return to Delhi, and to take upon him the management of the affairs of government. Shaw Allum was too prudent to

A. D. 1751. trust himself in the hands of Abdalla, and therefore that prince, whose affairs on the side of Persia required his presence, confirmed Jewan Bucht* upon the throne of Delhi, under the tuition of Nigib ul Dowla, from whom he exacted an annual tribute. Abdalla, after these transactions, returned to Cabul.

No sooner had Abdalla evacuated Delhi, than the Jates commenced hostilities against Nigib ul Dowla. They seized upon Camgar Chan, Zemindâr of Ferochagur, and appropriated to themselves his wealth and territory. The minister, upon this, took the field. The Jates advanced against him, with a great army, under the conduct of their chief, Raja Sourage Mull. The Jates being much superior to the force of Nigib ul Dowla, became confident of success; so that, when the armies approached within a few miles of one another, near Secundra, the Raja went carelessly out, with some of his officers, upon a hunting party. Nigib ul Dowla, being informed of this circumstance by means of his spies, immediately detached a party of five hundred horse, under Seidu, a bold partizan, in quest of the Raja.

Seidu fell in with Sourage Mull, whose party consisted of about three hundred. They engaged sword in hand, with great resolution on both sides; but, at length, the Jates were cut off to a man, and the Raja's head was brought to Nigib ul Dowla, who was then upon his march to attack the enemy. The unexpected appearance of Nigib, in the absence of their prince and best officers, struck the Jates with universal panic; when, at that very instant, a horseman advancing at full speed, threw the Raja's head into their line. This circumstance completed their confusion, so that Nigib ul Dowla defeated them with ease, and pursued them, sword in hand, some crores from the field of battle.

* The present emperor's eldest son.

The minister, after this victory, returned to Delhi. But he had not long remained in that capital, before Joahir Singh, the son and successor of Sourage Mull, hired twenty thousand Mahrattors, under Malhar Raw, and advanced with all his forces to Delhi. Nigib ul Dowla was not capable to cope with the Jates and their auxiliaries in the field. He shut himself up in the city, where he was besieged for three months, and at last reduced to great distress. However, a handsome present to Malhar Raw saved him upon this critical occasion. The Jates, finding themselves betrayed by their mercenaries, were obliged to patch up a peace, and retire into their own country. These transactions happened in the year 1175 of the Higera. Nigib ul Dowla has been since frequently attacked by the Jates to the east, and the Seiks to the west, but he still maintains his ground with great resolution and ability.

But to return to the adventures of the prince Ali Gohar, who, under the title of emperor, now reigns in the small province of Allahabad: we have already observed, that he, after parting with the Mahrattors, threw himself upon Nigib ul Dowla at Secundra. He could not, however, prevail upon that Omrah to take up arms in his favor. He, therefore, left Secundra, with a small retinue of servants, who lived at their own expence, in hopes of better days, with their prince. With these he arrived at Lucknow, one of the principal cities of the province of Oud, where Suja ul Dowlat kept then his court. Suja ul Dowlat received the king with seeming great respect, and paid him royal honors; but this was only the false politeness of an Indian court; which is always less deficient in ceremony than in faith. It was not the interest of Suja ul Dowlat, who, by the villainies of his father, the infamous Seifdar Jung, had become an independent prince, to revive the power of the empire, he therefore declined

all connection with the affairs of Ali Gohar. He, however, made him a Nasir of some elephants, horses, and half a lack of rousees in money, and insinuated to him, to leave his court.

Ali Gohar, in this distressed situation, turned towards Allahabad. Mahummud Kuli Chan, at that time, possessed that city and province. Mahummud received the prince with friendship as well as respect; for being a man of an enterprising genius, he entertained great hopes of raising himself with the fortunes of the Shaw Zadda *. After maturely deliberating upon the plan of their future operations, it was resolved, that, instead of relieving the unfortunate Allumgire from the tyranny of Ghazi at Delhi, they should endeavor to possess themselves of the provinces of Bengal and Behar, the revenues of which might enable them to support a sufficient army to restore the power of the empire. Though the Shaw Zadda was the undoubted heir of the empire, yet, to take away every pretence of right from Jaffier Ali Chan, whom the British, on account of his villainies, had raised to the government of Bengal, he obtained a private grant of the subaships of the three provinces from his father at Delhi.

Every thing being now concerted, public orders were issued to the neighbouring rajas and fagedars, to repair to the standard of the Shaw Zadda; while Mahummud Kuli Chan raised all the troops of Allahabad. Camgar Chan, one of the principal fagedars of Behar, Pulwan Singh, raja of Budgepoor, Bulbidder, raja of Amati, and many other, both Hindoo and Mahomedan

* Shaw Zadda literally signifies the king's son: a title by which Ali Gohar was distinguished during the life of his father Allumgire Sani.

chiefs,

chiefs, obeyed the summons, and joined the prince. Soldiers of fortune, in the mean time, flocked to him from all quarters, so that Ali Gohar found himself soon at the head of sixty thousand men.

In the month of Ribbi ul Sani, of the year 1173, the Shaw Zadda marched from Allahabad towards Bengal. The particulars of this war are well known. Let it suffice to mention here, that the prince was unsuccessful in all his attempts upon Bengal; and was, at last, obliged to surrender himself to the commander of the British forces, at Geiah in Behar. He received intelligence, soon after, of the assassination of his father at Delhi. He was accordingly proclaimed emperor at Patna; but nothing being done for him, by the British, the unfortunate prince found himself obliged to throw himself into the hands of Suja ul Dowlat, who, in the absence of Kuli Chan, had seized upon the province of Allahabad. The villainy of Suja ul Dowlat did not rest there: he invited Kuli Chan to a conference, and basely assassinated him.

Suja ul Dowlat, having possessed himself of the king's person, closely confined him. He, at the same time, mocked the unhappy man with a farce of royalty, and obliged him to ratify all grants and commissions, which might serve his own purposes. Under the sanction of these extorted deeds, Suja ul Dowlat made war upon the neighboring states, in which, however, he was not very successful. When Cassim Ali Chan was driven from the subaship of Bengal, Suja ul Dowlat joined him, in order to recover his government. He was defeated at Buxar, by the British, and the king being, in his flight, left behind him, threw himself a second time under our protection.

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A. D. 1764.

He hoped, now, that as Suja ul Dowlat's dominions fell into the hands of the British, in consequence of this victory, that they would confer them upon him. But the unfortunate prince deceived himself. He had no money, and consequently had no friends. Suja ul Dowlat was still possessed of wealth: and the virtue of the conquerors was by no means proof against temptation. They restored to him his dominions, and, by a mere mockery of terms, called injustice by the name of generosity. A small part of the province of Allahabad was allotted to the king, for a subsistence, and the infamous son of a still more infamous Persian pedlar enjoys the extensive province of Oud, as a reward for a series of uncommon villainies.---But the transactions of the BRITISH SUBAS in India, will furnish materials for a distinct history. We shall not, therefore, break in upon that subject in this place; as to mention them slightly would be, in some measure, detracting from the fame, which those GREAT MEN have so justly acquired.

SECTION

SECTION VI.

Of the present State of HINDOSTAN.

THE short sketch which we have given in the preceding A. D. 1764. sections, of the History of Hindostan, may serve to throw light on the decline of the great empire of the Moguls in that part of the world. We saw it gradually shrinking into itself, till the race of Timur are, at last, confined within the narrow limits of an insignificant province. It must, however, be allowed, that the uncommon misfortunes of that family, proceeded no less from their own weakness, than from the villainy of their servants. Had a man of parts succeeded the debility of Mahumud Shaw's government, the ancient glory of the empire might have been still restored. The revolted subas were not, then, well established in their independence; and the gallant resistance which Abdalla met with, in the reign of Ahmed, shewed that the Moguls could still defend themselves from foreign invasions.

This, like other great states, fell into pieces, more by domestic factions, than by foreign arms. Even the ministers of the unfortunate Mahummud were men of parts; those who managed the affairs of Ahmed were possessed of great abilities; and, in the reign of Allumgire Sani, young Ghazi displayed an uncommon and enterprizing genius. But virtue had fled from the land: no principle of honor, patriotism, or loyalty, remained; great abilities produced nothing but great crimes; and the eyes of individuals being wholly intent upon private advantage, the affairs of the public fell into ruin and confusion.

As

A. D. 1764.

As from the ruins of the extensive empire of the Moguls, many independent governments have started up of late years, it may not be improper, in this place, to take a cursory view of the present state of Hindostan. To begin with the northern provinces. We have already observed, that Candahar, Cabul, Ghizni, Pishawir, with a part of Moultan and Sind, are under the dominion of Ahmet Abdalla. That prince possesses also, upon the side of Persia, the greatest part of Chorrassân and Seistan, and all Bamia, on that of Tartary. Abdalla, in short, reigns over almost all the countries which formed the empire of Ghizni, before it descended from the mountains of Afganistân to Lahore and Delhi. It is highly probable that, as Kerim Chan has settled the western Persia, he may soon extend the empire to its ancient boundaries towards the east, and drive Abdalla into Hindostan; so that a third dynasty of kings of India may arise from among the Afgans.

The revenues of Abdalla are very considerable, amounting to about three crores of roupees. But as he is always in the field, and maintains an army of 100,000 horse, to defend himself from the Persians and Tartars, he is in great distress for money. This circumstance obliges him, not only to oppress his own subjects, but also to carry his depredations to foreign countries. During the competition of the seven conspirators for the throne of Persia, Abdalla had little to fear from that quarter. But as Kerim Chan has established himself, by the defeat and death of his rivals, it is extremely probable, that Abdalla will soon feel, as we have already observed, the weight of his arms, as Chorrassân and Seistan are properly provinces of the Persian empire.

However,

However, Abdalla is, at present, at peace with Kerim, and has taken that favorable opportunity for invading Hindostan. He had, in April 1767, defeated the Seiks in three different actions, and advanced to Sirhind, about forty crores from Delhi, with an army of fifty thousand horse. It is supposed that Nigib ul Dowla, who, in the name of the present emperor's son, manages the affairs of Delhi, had, as he himself was hard pressed by the Seiks and Jates, called in Abdalla, to take upon him the government. Nigib ul Dowla, by our best intelligence, marched out of the city to meet his ally, with forty thousand men. The armies lay in sight of one another, and they were busy in negotiation, and in settling a plan for their future operations. Abdalla, in the mean time, wrote circular letters to all the princes of India, commanding them to acknowledge him KING OF KINGS, and demanding a tribute. Suja ul Dowlat, in particular, had received a very sharp letter from him, upbraiding him for his alliance with INFIDELS, and demanding the imperial revenues, which that suba had converted to his own use for some years back.

Such was the situation of the affairs of Ahmed Abdalla, by our last accounts from Delhi. This prince is brave and active, but he is now in the decline of life. His person is tall and robust, and inclinable to being fat. His face is remarkably broad, his beard very black, and his complexion moderately fair. His appearance, upon the whole, is majestic, and expressive of an uncommon dignity and strength of mind. Though he is not so fierce and cruel as Nadir Shaw, he supports his authority with no less rigor, and he is by no means less brave than that extraordinary monarch. He, in short, is the most likely person now in India, to restore the ancient power of the empire, should he assume the title of king of Delhi.

The SEIKS border upon the Indian dominions of Abdalla. That nation, it is said, take their name of SEIKS, which signifies DISCIPLES, from their being followers of a certain philosopher of Thibet, who taught the idea of a commonwealth, and the pure doctrine of Deism, without any mixture of either the Mahommedan or Hindoo superstitions. They made their first appearance about the commencement of this century, in the reign of Bahadar Shaw, but were rather reckoned then a particular sect than a nation. Since the empire began to decline, they have prodigiously increased their numbers, by admitting profelytes of all religions, without any other ceremony than an oath, which they tender to them, to oppose monarchy.

The Seiks are, at present, divided into several states, which in their internal government are perfectly independent of one another, but they form a powerful alliance against their neighbors. When they are threatened with invasions, an assembly of the states is called, and a general chosen by them, to lead their respective quotas of militia into the field; but, as soon as peace is restored, the power of this kind of dictator ceases, and he returns, in a private capacity, to his own community. The Seiks are now in possession of the whole province of Punjâb, the greatest part of Moultan and Sind, both the banks of the Indus from Cashmire to Tatta, and all the country towards Delhi, from Lahore to Sirhind. They have, of late years, been a great check upon the arms of Abdalla; and, though in the course of the last year they have been unsuccessful against that prince in three actions, they are, by no means subdued, but continue a severe clog upon his ambitious views in India.

The chief who leads at present the army of the Seiks, is Jeffarit Singh; there is also one Nitteh Singh, who is in great
5 esteem

esteem among them. They can, upon an emergency, muster 60000 good horse; but, though in India they are esteemed brave, they chuse rather to carry on their wars by surprize and stratagem, than by regular operations in the field. By their principles of religion and government, as well as on account of national injuries, they are inveterate enemies to Abdalla, and to the Rohilla powers.

To the east of the dominions of the republic of the Seiks lie the countries which are possessed by the Rohilla Afgans. Nigib ul Dowla, whose history is comprehended in the preceding sections, is, from his power, as well as from the strength of his councils and his own bravery, reckoned their prince. He possesses the city of Delhi, in the name of the family of Timur, together with a considerable territory around it, on both the banks of the Jumna, and his revenues amount to one crore of roupees. He publicly acknowledges the unfortunate Shaw Allum, at Allahabad, king, and allows a pension to his son Jewan Bucht, who, without any power, maintains a kind of regal dignity at Delhi.

Nigib ul Dowla has been known, when hard pressed by his hostile neighbors, to raise 60000 horse; but his revenues are not sufficient to support one tenth part of that number. He continues to take the field under the name of buckshi, or captain-general of the Mogul empire; and though he has not the power, or perhaps the inclination, to assist the king, he keeps up a friendly correspondence with him, and, without any necessity, professes obedience and a shew of loyalty.

Besides Nigib ul Dowla, there are chiefs of the Rohilla race, who are perfectly independent; but when danger presses, they unite with him their forces. The most respectable of these chiefs

is Hafiz Rhimut, who possesses a considerable district between the rivers. The next to him, in power, is Doondi Chan; and with him we may number Mutta Husein, Jacob Ali Chan, Fatte Chan Zurein, and others of less note, who command independent tribes beyond the Ganges to the north of Delhi.

The whole power of the Rohillas may amount to 100,000 horse, and an equal number of infantry, upon an emergency; but these are so wretchedly appointed and ill paid, that they furnish more of ridicule, than they can impress of terror in the field. Their infantry are armed with rockets, pointed with iron, which they discharge in volleys among cavalry, which frighten more with their noise and uncommon appearance, than by the execution which they make. The Rohillas are remarkable for nothing more than their natural antipathy to the Mahrattors, which might be turned to advantage by the British in their future views upon Hindostan: but the truth is, that the Hindoos and Mahomedans so equally ballance one another in that country, that by supporting one, we may, with great facility, command both.

There is a small government of the Patans to the east of the Rohilla tribes. Their district is bounded by the dominions of the present king, by those of Suja ul Dowlat, and by the territories of the Jates. The capital of this petty principality is Ferochabad, which is situated upon the banks of the Ganges, a few crores above the ruins of the celebrated city of Kinnoge. Ahmed Chan Bunguish, who made a great figure against Seifdar Jung, the father of Suja ul Dowlat, rules over this district. Ahmed is more distinguished by his abilities and personal bravery, than by the extent of his power. His revenues do not exceed fifty lacks; but he always keeps a standing force of two or three thousand

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good horse, which he pays well; and, upon an emergency, he raises all his vassals, who consist of about 20000 men. His country is full of forts; and he has, consequently, been hitherto able to defend himself against the Mahrattors, Jates, and Suja ul Dowlat, who have respectively invaded his dominions.

The city of Agra, and a very considerable tract of country round it, extending along the Jumna, from forty crores below that city to within five of Delhi, and stretching back to Gualier and Barampulla, are now in the hands of a Hindoo nation, called the Jates. The raja who, commands the Jates, is descended of the ancient race of the Jits, who possessed the banks of the Indus, as far back as the reign of Sultan Mahmood of Ghizni. From their prince, the whole body of the Jates, though made up of many distinct tribes and sects, take their name; but others, with less probability, trace it to JATE, which in the Hindoo language signifies a labourer.

The Jates made no figure in the Mogul empire, as a nation, till the reign of Allumgire, commonly known in Europe by the name of Aurungzebe. In that monarch's expedition to the Decan, they were first heard of as a gang of banditti, under an intrepid fellow, called Chura Mun. They were then so daring as to harrafs the rear of the imperial army. After the death of Allumgire, the Jates took advantage of the growing imbecility of the empire, and fortifying themselves among the hills of Narvar, spread their depredations to the gates of Agra. Mokun Singh, who, after the death of Chura Mun, commanded the Jates, took upon himself the title of Raja. Their power increased under Bodun Singh and Sourage Mull, which last was dignified with titles from the emperor.

Joahir

Joahir Singh, the son of Sourage Mull, now reigns over the Jates, and is a very weak prince. His revenues do not exceed two crores of roupees; his dominions, like the rest of India, being harrassed by the Mahrattors. He may, upon some occasions, be able to bring into the field sixty or seventy thousand men, but he cannot keep long in pay one third of that number. The dominions of the Jates abound with strong fortresses, such as Dieg, Cumbere, and Aliver; in one of which their prince frequently resides, though he spends the most part of his time at Agra.

To the south-west of the Jates, Mudoo Singh, a rajaput raja, possesses a very considerable territory, and resides for the most part at Joinagur. He is the son of Joy Singh, a prince famous for his knowledge in astronomy, and other mathematical sciences. He entertained above a thousand learned brahmins for some years, in rectifying the kalendar, and in making new tables for the calculation of eclipses, and for determining the longitude and declination of the stars.---The revenues of Mudoo Singh are not very considerable, being reckoned only eighty lacks; his dominions being woody, mountainous, and consequently ill cultivated. He can, however, raise forty thousand men; and he himself is esteemed a good soldier.

Bordering upon Mudoo Singh, upon the frontiers of the Decan, is the extensive country of Marwar, ruled, at present, by Bija Singh, the son of Bucht Singh, and grandson of Jessawind Singh. Marwar, when the empire was in a flourishing condition, yielded annually five crores of roupees; at present its revenues do not amount to half that sum, on account of the incessant depredations of the Mahrattors, its next neighbours.

The next Hindoo government to Marwar, is that of Odipour. The raja of this country is distinguished by the name of Rana.

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That prince, more from his nobility of family than from his power, assumes a superiority over all the rajas of Hindostan. His dominions were formerly very extensive, but, of late years, they have been circumscribed within narrower bounds. His territories abound with mountains and forests, and are almost surrounded by the kingdoms of Malava and Guzerat. His revenues are inconsiderable, and he cannot bring into the field above fifteen thousand men.---In the vallies between the mountains of Odipour, there are many petty independent rajas; Bundi, Cottu, Rupnagur, Jesselmere, and Bianere, being governed by their respective princes, each of whom can muster six or eight thousand men.

The Mahrattors are the most considerable Hindoo power in Hindostan. The principal seat of their government is Sattarah, and sometimes Puna, on the coast towards Bombay. Though the genuine Mahrattors all over India do not exceed 60000 men, yet, from their superior bravery and success in depredation, thousands of all tribes enlist themselves under their banners. These, instead of pay, receive a certain proportion of the plunder. By this means an army of Mahrattors increases like a river, the farther it advances; so that it is no uncommon thing for a force of ten or twelve thousand genuine Mahrattors to grow into 100,000, before they arrive in the place which they destine to plunder.

The present chief of the Mahrattors is Ragenot Raw, the son of Bagiraw. He possesses one half of Guzerat, and all the territories between that province and the Decan. He has, of late years, extended his conquests to all the provinces of Malava, and to a part of Allahabad; having reduced Himmur Singh, raja of Gualier, Anarid Singh, raja of Badawir, Anarid Singh, of Chunderi, and the princes of Dittia, Orcha, Elichpoor, Bandere,

and Jassej; all of whom have become tributary to the Mahrattors. They have, moreover, possessed themselves of Orissa, which ought, in propriety, to be annexed to the subahship of Bengal, according to the late grant of the king to the British. Thus the dominions of the Mahrattors extend quite across the peninsula of India, from the bay of Bengal to the gulph of Cambait or Cambay.

The amount of the revenues of the Mahrattors cannot easily be ascertained. They must, however, be very considerable. They subsist their armies by depredations on their neighbors, and are become the terror of the East, more on account of their barbarity than their valour. They never want a pretence for hostilities. They demand the Chout, or fourth part of the revenues of any province; and, in case of a refusal, they invade, plunder, and lay waste the country. Their horses being very hardy, their incursions are sudden, unexpected, and dreadful. They generally appoint a place of rendezvous, and their invasions are carried on by detached parties. Should a considerable force at any time oppose them, they decline coming to action; and, as they invigorate their hardy horses with opium, their flight, like their incursions, is very expeditious.

The armies of the Mahrattors do not, like the troops of other Indian powers, incumber themselves with bazars or markets. They trust for their subsistence to the countries through which they march. They are armed with firelocks, some with matchlock guns, and others with bows, spears, javelins, swords and daggers. They have, within three years back, made some advances towards forming a disciplined army of infantry. They have, accordingly, at present, ten or twelve battalions of Seapoys, uniformly cloathed and armed.---All the powers of India being now sensible of the advantages which the British have gained by disciplined infantry, turn their thoughts to a similar regulation in
their

their armies, and to improve their artillery, which was formerly too unweildy and ill-mounted, to be of any service in the field.

To the east of Malava, and to the south of Allahabad, is the country of Bundelcund, governed by Hindoput. His territories are of a considerable extent and very fertile, and he moreover draws great wealth from his diamond mines of Hieragur and Punagur. He also claims a right to the mines of Sommelpour, but another raja possesses them at present.---The annual revenues of Hindoput amount to near two crores of roupees, including the profits arising from his mines. These he farms out to merchant-adventurers, who purchase a certain number of superficial feet of ground, and they are permitted to dig down perpendicularly as far as they please. Diamonds beyond a certain weight are the property of the prince, who has inspectors, to superintend the works.

The raja of Bundelcund possesses the impregnable fortrefs of Callinger and several other considerable strong holds. He has, notwithstanding, been obliged to compound for a certain tribute with the Mahrattors, who generally paid him an annual visit. Between Bundelcund and Cattack, in Orissa, lie the rajaships of Patna and Sommelpour, which are not very considerable; the country being mountainous, woody, and unhealthy, and the inhabitants barbarous in every respect.

Part of the province of Allahabad is now possessed by SHAW ALLUM, by birthright and title, though nothing less so in power, emperor of Hindostan. He keeps the poor resemblance of a court at Allahabad, where a few ruined Omrahs, in hopes of better days to their prince, having expended their fortunes in his service, still exist the ragged pensioners of his poverty, and burthen his gratitude with their presence. The districts of Korah and Allahabad, in the king's possession, are rated at thirty

lacks, which is one half more than they are able to bear. Instead of gaining by this bad policy, that prince, unfortunate in many respects, has the mortification to see his poor subjects oppressed by those who farm the revenue, while he himself is obliged to compound with the farmers for half the stipulated sum. Besides the revenue arising from Allahabad and Korah, which we may at a medium estimate at twelve lacks, the British pay to the king twenty-six lacks out of the revenues of Bengal; which is all Shaw Allum possesses to support the dignity of the imperial house of Timur.---It may not, perhaps, be unacceptable to the public, to delineate, in this place, the character of that unfortunate prince.

SHAW ALLUM is robust in his person, and about six feet high. His complexion is rather darker than that which was common to the race of Timur, and his countenance is expressive of that melancholy which naturally arose from his many misfortunes. He possesses personal courage; but it is of the passive kind, and may be rather called fortitude to bear adversity, than that daring boldness which loves to face danger.---He has been so often dismounted in the course of ambition, that he now fears to give it the rein; and seems less desirous to make any efforts to retrieve the power of his family, than to live quietly under the shadow of its eclipsed majesty.---His clemency borders upon weakness, and his good nature has totally subverted his authority. He is daily induced, by importunity, to issue out orders which he takes no means to enforce, and which, he is certain, will not be obeyed. From this blemish in the character of Shaw Allum, arose the half of his misfortunes; for the great secret of establishing authority, is to give no orders which cannot be enforced, and rather to suffer small injuries, than shew resentment, without the power of punishing.

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His generosity is more than equal to his abilities, and, too often, ill bestowed. He is too much addicted to women, and takes more pains to maintain his Haram, than to support an army.---But though we cannot call him a great prince, we must allow him to be a good man. His virtues are many; but they are those of private life, which never appear with lustre upon a throne. His judgment is by no means weak; but his passions are not strong: the easiness of his temper is therefore moulded like wax by every hand; and he always gives up his own better opinion for those of men of inferior parts.---He is affable in his conversation, but seldom descends to pleasantry. Upon the whole, though Shaw Allum is by no means qualified to restore a lost empire, he might have maintained it with dignity in prosperous times, and transmitted his name, as a virtuous prince, to posterity. It is with great regret that the author, from his regard to truth, cannot speak more favorably of a prince, to whom his gratitude and attachment are due, for repeated testimonies of his esteem and friendship.

The territories of Suja ul Dowlat, who possesses the province of Oud, border upon those of the king. His revenues amount to near two crores of roupees, out of which he pays nothing to the emperor, though he pretends to recognize his title as his sovereign. Since his defeat at Buxar, Suja ul Dowlat attends very much to the discipline of his army, and the proper regulation of his finances. He has already formed ten battalions of Seapoys, and has made great improvements in his artillery. When the news of Abdalla's late invasion came, he levied twelve thousand horse, upon a better footing than is generally practised in Hindostan. He is now the ally of the British in India, and as his revenues will never enable him to support himself in the field against them, it is probable his principle of

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fear, for he has none of honor or gratitude, will make him stand to the letter of the treaty.

Suja ul Dowlat is extremely handsome in his person; about five feet eleven inches in height, and so nervous and strong, that, with one stroke of the sabre, he can cut off the head of a buffalo. He is active, passionate, ambitious; his penetrating eye seems, at first sight, to promise uncommon acuteness and fire of mind: but his genius is too volatile for depth of thought; and he is consequently more fit for the manly exercises of the field, than for deliberation in the closet.---Till of late he gave little attention to business. He was up before the sun, mounted his horse, rushed into the forest, and hunted down tigers or deer till the noon of day. He then returned, plunged into the cold bath, and spent his afternoons in the Haram among his women.---Such was the bias of Suja ul Dowlat's mind till the late war. Ambitious without true policy, and intoxicated with the passions of youth, he began a wild career, in which he was soon checked. Stung with the loss of reputation, his passions have taken another course. His activity is employed in disciplining his army, and he now spends more time at the comptoir of his finances, than in dallying with the ladies of his seraglio. His authority, therefore, is established, his revenues increased, and his army on a respectable footing. But, with all his splendid qualities, he is cruel, treacherous, unprincipled, deceitful: carrying a specious appearance, purposely to betray, and when he embraces with one hand, will stab with the other to the heart. Together with being heir to the fruits of his father's crimes, he inherits all his latent baseness of mind; for, if we except personal courage, he possesses not one virtue more than Seifdar Jung.

The province of Oud is situated to the north-east of the Ganges, bordering upon Behar, from which it is, on the one side, divided by the river Deo, or Gagera, and on the other by the

the Carumnaffa. The country is level, well cultivated and watered. It is divided, on the north, by a chain of mountains from Thibet. In the vallies, which intersect that immense ridge of hills, there are several independent rajas, too inconsiderable to be formidable to Suja ul Dowlat.

The provinces of Bengal and Behar are possessed by the British East-India company, in reality, by the right of arms, though, in appearance, by a grant from the present emperor. This is not a proper place to enter into particulars concerning those provinces: it may suffice to observe, that Bengal and Behar, including what is called the company's lands and duties upon merchandize, yielded in April, 1766, 33,025,968 Sicca roupees. The expences of government, the tribute to the king, and a pension to a nabob, set up on account of the villainies of his father, amounted to 22,450,000 roupees, and consequently the ballance in favor of the company was 10,575,968 roupees, or 1,321,994l. 15s. of our money.---The British force in Bengal consists of three battalions of Europeans, and thirty of Seapoys, regularly armed, disciplined, and uniformly cloathed; so that we are much superior, even upon that establishment, to any other power at present in Hindostan.

In the Decan the British are almost as powerful as in Bengal. We support Mahommed Ali, as nominal nabob of the Carnatic, while, in fact, we govern the country without control, having the possession of the garrisons and the disposal of the revenues. The power of the Nizam, who resides at Hydrabad, though he possesses all the province of Golconda, is, of late, very much circumscribed. He, however, still maintains an army of 60 or 70000 men; but without discipline, and ill paid they are by no means formidable. He, some time ago, entered into a treaty with the British, but he has, of late, shewn no disposition to adhere to it long.

Hydernaig,

Hydernaig, a soldier of fortune, who, by his personal merit, raised himself from a common Seapoy, to be sovereign of almost all the coast of Malabar, threatened, last year, to attack the Nizam, if he did not break his unnatural alliance with the British. The part which the Nizam will take upon this occasion, will entirely depend on the spirit of the councils of the British on the coast.---As Hydernaig had also threatened Mahommed Ali, nabob of the Carnatic, it was judged prudent to march an army against him in March, 1767; but what success may have attended the expedition, has not hitherto reached Europe.

Hydernaig is said to have thirty disciplined battalions of Seapoys, twenty thousand good horse, and a great train of artillery, wrought by five hundred European renegadoes. This prince having served in person in European armies, models his troops upon their plan, pays punctually, and enforces discipline with rigor. Together with being an able politician, he is a daring, active, and impetuous soldier, and if he is not immediately crushed, he may prove the most dangerous enemy that the British have hitherto met with in the East. He is, at present, the most formidable prince in all India, and he will, no doubt, take advantage of the divided state of that country, and endeavor to extend his conquests.

Thus have we, in a few words, endeavored to give a general idea of the present state of Hindostan. The reflexions which naturally arise from the subject, might swell this work into a volume. It is apparent, however, from what has been said, that the immense regions of Hindostan might be all reduced by a handful of regular troops.---Ten thousand European infantry, together with the Seapoys in the company's service, are not only sufficient to conquer all India, but, with proper policy, to maintain it, for ages, as an appendage of the British crown.---This position may, at first sight, appear a paradox, to people unacquainted

quainted with the genius and disposition of the inhabitants of Hindostan: but to those who have considered both with attention, the thing seems not only practicable, but easy.

That slavery and oppression, which the Indians suffer from their native princes, make the justice and regularity of a British government appear to them in the most favorable light. The great men of the country have no more idea of patriotism, than the meanest slaves; and the people can have no attachment to chiefs whom they regard as tyrants. Soldiers of fortune are so numerous in India, that they comprehend one fourth of the inhabitants of that extensive country. They are never paid one third of the stipulated sum, by the princes of Hindostan, which renders them mutinous and discontented; but they would most certainly approve themselves obedient, faithful, and brave, in the service of a power who should pay them regularly.

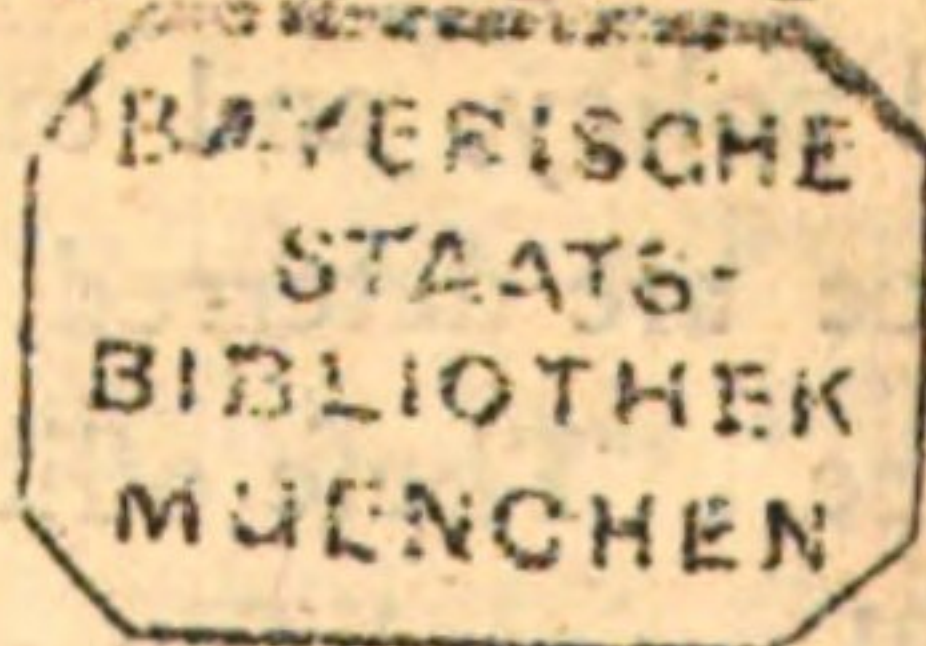
In a country like India, where all religions are tolerated, the people can have no objection to the British, on account of theirs. The army might be composed of an equal number of Mahomedans and Hindoos, who would be a check upon one another, while a small body of Europeans would be a sufficient check upon both. The battalions ought to be commanded altogether by European officers, who, if they do their duty properly, and behave with justice to their men, may attach them to their persons, with stronger ties than any troops born in Europe. But if justice is not observed to soldiers, human nature, in this, as in all countries, will and must revolt against oppression.

At present, the black officers of the Seapoys must rise from the ranks. This is sound policy, and ought to be continued. Men of family and influence are deterred, by this circumstance, from entering into the service. These officers are, therefore, entirely our creatures, and will never desert a people, among whom
alone

alone they can have any power; for no acquired discipline will give weight to a mean man, sufficient to bring to the field an army of Indians.

The advantages of a conquest of Hindostan to this country are obvious. It would pay as much of the national debt, as government should please to discharge. Should the influx of wealth raise the price of the necessaries and conveniences of life, the poor, on the other hand, by being eased of most of their taxes, would be more able to purchase them.---But, say some grave moralists, how can such a scheme be reconciled to justice and humanity?---This is an objection of no weight.---Hindostan is, at present, torn to pieces by factions. All laws, divine and human, are trampled under foot.---Instead of one tyrant, as in the times of the empire, the country now groans under thousands; and the voice of the oppressed multitude reaches heaven. It would, therefore, be promoting the cause of justice and humanity, to pull those petty tyrants from the height to which their villainies have raised them, and to give to so many millions of mankind, a government founded upon the principles of virtue and justice.---The task is no less glorious than it is practicable; for it might be accomplished with half the blood which is often expended, in Europe, upon an ideal system of a ballance of power, and in commercial wars, which must be attended with little eclat, as they are destitute of striking and beneficial consequences.

F I N I S.



Firišta, Muḥammad Qāsim Hindū-Šāh Astarābādī,

The History Of Hindostan From The Earliest Account Of Time, To The Death
Of Akbar

Bd.: 2

London (1768)

4 A.or. 2195-2

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10219525-0